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by

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photographs by

J.B.VINCENT

preface by

Arthur Waley

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Buddhist Cave Paintings
at Tun-huang

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Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang

by

BASIL GRAY

photographs by

J. B. VINCENT

with a preface by

ARTHUR WALEY

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Preface

BY ARTHUR WALEY

I have written this short preface in fulfilment of a promise made before Mr. Gray fortunately undertook to write a text to accompany these plates. Mr. Gray, particularly since his visit to Tun-huang, has established himself as the leading Western authority on the Tun-huang paintings. My only connection with the subject is that I have some knowledge of Tun-huang iconography, as also of Tun-huang's history and of its popular literature. I have while the book was in preparation talked over various points of iconography, epigraphy and so on with Mr. Gray, and have made one or two suggestions. For example, it seems to me that by comparing the mutilated inscription on Plate 36B with the life[1] of the monk T'an-yen one can read it as follows: 'In the 6th year of K'ai-huang (A.D. 586) in the Sui dynasty Heaven (did not send rain. There were prayers, but) there was no response. The Emperor asked the Master of the Law,[2] "What evil is there in this country that has caused the Empire to suffer from drought and . . . ?" The Master of the Law then took the sovereign and in the Ta-hsing[3] Palace administered to him the Eight (Vows of Abstinence). Whereupon wind and rain in the Empire were favourable.'

There seems to be no doubt that the picture illustrates this episode in the life of T'an-yen. Less certain is the identification of Plate 44. It has previously been identified as the fight of the Kings for the possession of Buddha's relics. I think it would be pedantic to point out that no such fight ever occurred, the god Indra having intervened to prevent it. The expression *ch'i ping* might have been interpreted by the artist as meaning 'commenced hostilities' rather than 'took up arms'. A more serious objection is that the combatants on one side are using spears but have no shields, while those on the other side are protecting themselves with shields, but have no spears. What is depicted would therefore appear to be an exercise in the use of shields against attack by spears, or the like. Perhaps the picture represents Buddha in his youth watching the military exercises of the Śākyas. We see him seated on a horse on the right side of the picture. This episode occurs in the *Fo-pen-hsing-chi Ching*,[4] an account of Buddha's life which was popular at Tun-huang.

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[1] Takakusu L. 489.

[2] i.e. T'an-yen (A.D. 517–89).

[3] Ta-hsing, occupying part of what later became Ch'ang-an, was the Sui capital.

[4] Takakusu III. 704.

PREFACE

Plate 26 has been generally identified as illustrating the story[1] told in Hsüan-tsang's geography of India (*Hsi Yü Chi*) about King Prasenajit putting out the eyes of 500 brigands, whose sight was subsequently restored by Buddha. What remains to be accounted for is the lady who seems to be pleading for the brigands. I suggest that she is one of the ladies of Mallikā (seated under the canopy behind her), consort of Prasenajit. Mallikā became a Buddhist while the king was still an unconverted despot, and it was under her influence that he too finally became a Buddhist and gave up his cruel and tyrannical ways. As Mallikā was known to have intervened on similar occasions (e.g. when Prasenajit intended to kill the cook[2] because, when he turned up for dinner unexpectedly, nothing was ready for him to eat) it was natural that she should also be introduced into the story of the brigands.

It may turn out that some details in the pictures illustrate the popular 'wonder-writings' (*pien-wen*) rather than the canonic text. Some *pien-wen* are merely expansions of stories told in the Scriptures. Others, such as that of Śāriputra and the Heretics (see Plate 58) an illustrated version of which has been discussed by Nicole Vandier-Nicolas,[3] introduce Chinese accessories, such as the Chinese Immortals Wang Chʻiao and Ting Ling-wei, who appear in the mountain magically created by the Heretics. Other *pien-wen* consist almost entirely of uncanonical folklore; notably those about Buddha's disciple Maudgalyāyana visiting his mother in Hell, of which numerous versions were found at Tun-huang.

Incidentally, it should not be forgotten that paintings were sometimes based on dreams or visions and not on a text. For example, early in the seventh century the monk Pao-chi (A.D. 563–636) was asked to go to Pu-chou in Shansi, to complete an unfinished giant statue of the future Buddha, Maitreya. Before starting he dreamt that he saw two lions continuously puffing pearls out of their mouths. When he got to Pu-chou he asked a painter to depict his dream 'in front of the image of Maitreya'.[4] Such a painting might today completely baffle iconographers.

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[1] Takakusu LI. 900. But as the *Hsi Yü Chi* is much later than the picture, the artist must have got the story elsewhere.

[2] Takakusu LIV. 156.

[3] See below, p. 60.

[4] Takakusu L. 696.

Introduction

BY BASIL GRAY

This book is based upon the photographs taken by Mr. and Mrs. John B. Vincent in 1948. Mr. Vincent's colour films are the first to be used in the production of colour plates of the wall paintings at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas in the Tun-huang oasis. Mrs. Vincent has described in her book *The Sacred Oasis*, 1953, her adventurous journey to the caves and the ten days which she was able to spend there. Mr. Vincent was there for even shorter time but both deserve credit and gratitude for the work which they were able to accomplish in photographing the caves and especially the wall paintings.

For twenty years I had been familiar with the amazingly well-preserved paintings on silk and paper brought to London from Tun-huang by Sir Aurel Stein in 1908, and patiently unfolded and mounted at the British Museum. I had studied the photographs taken soon after by Professor Paul Pelliot of the wall paintings; tantalised as we all were, by the glimpses from this great picture gallery in the heart of Asia. I had visited the collections of fragments of wall paintings from Turfan and Khotan in Berlin (now alas largely perished) and New Delhi; and had seen the few remains from Kozlov's Central Asian journey in Moscow—but none of this gave any clear picture of how Buddhist caves of the earlier period looked. It was therefore with excitement that I heard in 1951 that the Vincents had brought to London a series of ninety colour transparencies of the interiors of thirty-four different caves. It is true that they had been taken without sufficient equipment, mostly by flash and in no case with arc lamps, for there was at this time no electricity generated at Ch'ien Fo-tung. But there were more than enough to reveal the rich colouring of Tun-huang painting, and many fine details—I was eager to see this material published, and readily agreed to write descriptions and an introduction.

Closer study increased my interest, but revealed the rashness of attempting to write about what I had not seen. The iconographic difficulties proved far greater than I had anticipated and the stylistic development charted by the Tun-huang Institute proved to be incomplete and partly deceptive. The Wei style emerged clearly enough, and it was evident that the late T'ang and Five Dynasties painting was not unlike much of the Stein collection. But between lay some four hundred years of artistic history which was obscure.

Several important publications appeared while this study was in progress, and I am obviously indebted, especially to the books by Mr. LeRoy Davidson, Mdlle. Vandier-Nicolas, M. des Rotours and Professor Demiéville which are mentioned in the bibliography and footnotes. It was evident that the inscriptions partly legible in the photographs of some of the wall paintings could throw light on the iconography and I am especially indebted to Mr. Arthur Waley, M. Demiéville and my colleague Mr. William Watson for help in studying them in the collections of Tun-huang inscriptions published by Shih Yai and Hsieh Chih-liu and in one instance the unpublished transcriptions made by Pelliot, which are being prepared for the press by Professor Demiéville who very kindly referred to them at my request. I am also indebted to Mr. T. Akiyama for courteously sending me a copy of his unpublished index of dated wall-paintings at Ch'ien Fo-tung, and to Mr. John Black for an authoritative geological assessment of the cliff formation there.

Still much remained unexplained and confusing, so that it was with relief as well as excitement that a quite unexpected invitation took me to Peking and thence to Tun-huang in May 1957. Four days spent in the caves revealed the full richness of the colour (which was so unexpected): azure blue and pearl white in the Wei caves; fine draughtsmanship in the Sui caves; strong and deep reds and blues of the early T'ang paradise pictures, contrasting with the light and clear colours of the narrative side scenes. The break caused by the Tibetan occupation when Tun-huang was cut off from China for a hundred years was clear on the spot and so was the revival which followed, and then the falling away to an increasingly mechanical and provincial art. But in the best period, from the sixth to the eighth century, there is nothing provincial or immature about the Tun-huang wall paintings. The main lines of the development became plain and some problems could be cleared up. But it would require months of research to go into all the problems, and there is work to be done by many kinds of specialists before the caves have yielded all their secrets.

In one particular way this book has been enriched. By courtesy of the Tun-huang Institute and of its director Mr. Chang Shu-hung I have been able to add two colour plates and nineteen in black and white of details from the paintings especially selected by myself and photographed for me by the Institute's photographer. These negatives remain the property of the Institute but permission was granted to me to use them to illustrate the story of painting at Tun-huang. A complete photographic record is being made of all the wall paintings and one day this will be published. Meanwhile the series here published will give an idea of the interest and beauty of this incomparable gallery of wall paintings of seven hundred and fifty years, the most extensive collection in the world of paintings of the first millennium of our era.

The caves are cited in the text by their numbers in the Tun-huang Institute system. In the descriptions of the plates the Pelliot numbers are also given wherever possible, since this system has been used in all the older Western literature. Pelliot plate numbers refer to his six portfolios listed in the bibliography, 'les Grottes de Touen-houang'.

History of Tun-huang

Tun-huang owes its importance to being the gate of China opening to the West. To the north at An-hsi the route divides to traverse the Lop and Taklamakan deserts. The oasis in which it lies is formed by irrigation of the water from the melted snows of the Altyn Tagh mountains to the south. As soon as the land route to the West was opened Tun-huang began to gather wealth from the Han dynasty, and in the reign of Fu Chien of the Former Ch'in dynasty (A.D. 357–84) a beginning was made with the dedication of the first of the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien Fo-Tung) which have been excavated in a conglomerate scarp some ten miles north of the Tun-huang city in the far west of Kansu. It was in A.D. 366 that the monk Lo Tsun had a vision here of a thousand Buddhas in a cloud of glory on the three peaks across the valley from the cliff escarpment. This is the record of the inscribed stone set up in the year 698 and still preserved at the caves, although not in its original position. By that year there were already 'more than a thousand constructions there'. They have been known ever since to Buddhist pilgrims making their way from China into India, so that they needed no discovery except to the Western world.

Naturally the ups and downs of fortune followed the course of Buddhist patronage and persecution in China. The cave shrines were in need of extensive repair and redecoration at this time, under the Sui. The Li family, who were pre-eminent at Tun-huang from 698 to 776, gave splendid benefactions and commissioned great series of sculptures and paintings, as recorded in an inscription of 776. Most of these subjects can still be recognized in the caves today.

In the T'ang period (618–980) some of the Emperors diverted Buddhist endowments to Taoist monasteries. This was because they were anxious to support the conservative aristocracy who were mainly Taoists. The great Emperor T'ai Tsung who succeeded in 626 was personally favourable to Buddhism, but he felt obliged to claim descent from Lao Tzŭ. In the next century the Emperor Hsüan Tsung (713–55) was more markedly favourable to Taoism, but the Empress Wu until her death in 705 was a great supporter of Buddhism. In 763 the Tibetans broke into China and Tun-huang was soon cut off. It fell in 777 or 787 and remained under Tibetan rule until 848. Between 843 and 845 there was a great persecution of Buddhism in China. The caves never fully recovered their importance and beauty, although in 894 they were again repaired by the Li family and there were extensive dedications there by another great local family, the Ts'ao, in the tenth century, when they were virtually independent rulers. But decadence is then clearly visible in coarse work and poor materials on both walls and paper.

The idea of excavating shrines from the living rock had travelled with the Buddhist faith from India. It is natural therefore that the first caves at Tun-huang should have been the earliest in China, but nothing now remaining there antedates the earliest surviving caves in North China. At Yün-Kang the large and important rock-cut caves date from A.D. 460–94 and were produced to the order of the Wei rulers themselves. They are on a great scale and carved with decision and emphasis on the monumental concept of the Buddha figure as transcendent, which was the essence of Mahayanism, the developed Buddhism in whose teaching Śākyamuni was only the latest manifestation of a Buddha destined throughout the ages to preach to mankind the Law. The idea of excavating rock-cut shrines in the rock may have reached North China by way of Tun-huang, for after the conquest of the kingdom of Pei-liang, which corresponds to the later province of Kansu, by the Wei in A.D. 439, the way to Tun-huang and the West was open to pilgrims. But the form of the larger caves at Yün-Kang, excavated and carved between 460 and 494, seems to derive from distant Bamiyan in modern Afghanistan, with which they are probably more or less contemporary. Partly owing to the hardness of the rock and partly to the imperial patronage which must have provided an army of workers based upon the capital at P'ing-ch'êng, these early caves at Yün-Kang (nos. XVI–XIX in the enumeration of the Japanese Commission headed by S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro) are much larger and more imposing than anything at Tun-huang. Several of the larger caves open out from an ante-room into a large hall. And the walls are covered with carvings in very high relief, all originally coloured. The early work at Yün-Kang, as defined above, is bold and rough, but impressive in its monumentality, while the later has greater refinement. This is carried further at a second centre of Buddhist caves, at Lung Mên near Loyang in Honan, where are early groups dating from A.D. 500 to 525. At Yün-Kang the iconography of the images is simple and undefined. Many Buddhas are carved on the walls, sometimes in threes, sometimes seated with crossed ankles, sometimes with legs apart. The Seven Buddhas who have lived on earth are identifiable, so is Maitreya the Future Buddha, but which particular aspect of Śākyamuni is represented, it is not always possible to say. Only the pair of Buddhas sharing a throne which is a common motif is actually identifiable as referring to the preaching of the Lotus sūtra, which is thus shown to have been as popular among the Top'a of North China as among the people of Tun-huang in the far west. These are unmistakably Śākyamuni and Prabhutaratna, the Former Buddha who revealed himself on that occasion by opening his stūpa in which he was enclosed and inviting Śākyamuni to sit beside him.[1] The close stylistic resemblance between the work at Yün-Kang and the wall paintings and stucco figures at Tun-huang proves the uniformity of the

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[1] *Prabhutaratna and Śākyamuni*: from the Lotus sūtra, *Saddharma Pundarika*, *Wisdom of the East*, vol. XXI, 1884, translated by H. Kern, pp. 236–7. The stūpa opened and disclosed Prabhutaratna sitting on his throne with emaciated limbs, absorbed in meditation. He praised Śākyamuni's exposition of the Lotus of the True Law and then offered him half his seat. They both appeared like 'meteors in the sky' seated in the middle of the great stūpa of jewels, when Śākyamuni preached to the assembled Bodhisattvas. Manjuśrī then appeared

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Buddhist style throughout China, even in remote areas. The Lotus sūtra was translated into Chinese from the *Saddharma Puṅdarika* by Kumārajīva in A.D. 406, and many texts in this translation, copied between 533 and 972, are among the Stein MSS. from Tun-huang. And the same would have been true of Central China: for at Lung Mên also, the two Buddhas sharing their throne is a frequent subject in the rock carvings. Indeed in the sixth century as well as under the T'ang, Central Asia was sinicized far to the west of Tun-huang. In 507 a Chinese family, the Ch'iu, replaced the Juan-juan dynasty as rulers in Turfan; and under them the aristocracy adopted Chinese customs; and the form of Buddhism was entirely Chinese. In 640 direct Chinese rule was extended here, and even the Uighur Turkish conquest did not end this Chinese character in the eighth century.[1]

So in 776 a long inscription at Tun-huang recording the pious work of the Li family since the time of Li Pao who was governor of Tun-huang under the Sui (A.D. 580–621) lists a sculptural composition of the Nirvāna, which would correspond with the carving in a deep recess at the Cave no. 5 at Hsiang T'ang-Ssŭ, on the border of Honan and Hopei, which dates from about A.D. 700.[2]

Among the paintings, paradise pictures had now begun to predominate in correspondence with the great popularity of the translation of the Amitāyu and Sukhāvatī sūtras. The first dated Amitābha statue is of 647 at Lung Mên.[3] But right through the T'ang period and down into the tenth and eleventh centuries, Indian influences are constantly contributing to the direction of Buddhism in China, and pilgrims and missionaries constantly passed to and fro.

The hillside at Tun-huang did not lend itself to the same treatment of the conglomerate as the rock of Lung Mên. The caves are much smaller and approached only by a corridor behind the entrance hall which was originally built out onto a platform constructed of wood and connected by gangways to the two or three levels of caves at the same height in the cliff. The main cella of even the largest caves does not measure more than 54 feet in depth by 46 feet in width; and many are only 20 feet square. Sir Aurel Stein made a complete ground plan of his Ch. VIII (which is Pelliot's Cave 117), published in *Serindia*, pl. 44. From this it appears that the dimensions are 46 feet by 43 feet 6 inches. Facing the entrance corridor in each shrine was a big rectangular platform in which the principal image stood, modelled in clay over an armature and painted. In the larger caves there was a passage between the platform and the rear wall to permit the circumambulation which was prescribed for the faithful as they moved in procession. This back wall

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before them, also Sāyara the Nāga King's daughter, who presented a priceless jewel and then became a Bodhisattva.

According to S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, *Yün-Kang*, vols. VIII–IX, 1953, p. 73, representations of P. and S. are found all over Yün-Kang and continued at Lung Mên, but are not found in Central Asia, and only once in Gandhara, (see *Grünwedel*, fig. 416), and then probably under T'ang (!) influence. They are found in Tun-huang from the Wei period, e.g., Cave 259 of about A.D. 500, as well as P. Caves 97, 120G, 135C and 135 G.

[1] See H. Maspero in *B.E.F.E.O.*, XV (4), 1915, pp. 57–64.

[2] See S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, *The Buddhist Cave—Temples of Hsiang T'ang-Ssŭ*, Kyoto, 1937, pl. 23.

[3] See Professor P. Pelliot, *Revue des Arts Asiatiques*, V, 1928, p. 15.

often contained niches in which further clay figures were placed, and the whole surface of the walls was covered with paintings in tempera on a prepared surface of fine plaster.

These paintings have been preserved for between a thousand and nearly fifteen hundred years from natural decay by the dry climate of Tun-huang which has only fractional rainfall; and protected by its remoteness, and by local interest in the maintenance of the pilgrims' visits even in times of persecution. Nevertheless, many of the outer walls have fallen away and the paintings in the halls are damaged and faded. Most of the clay figures have decayed from time to time and been repaired, receiving new heads and limbs and fresh paint. Particularly extensive repairs were made under the Yüan dynasty. But it is not true that the walls are nearly all repainted.

Some of the caves had become silted up with blown sand and have only been cleared in recent years. As in places of pilgrimage all over the world, many visitors have left their names written on the walls. These are in many languages, Chinese, Uighur, Japanese and even Russian. All in all these wall paintings are by far the most considerable remains of Chinese paintings from five centuries, starting with the Wei and ending with the early Sung. The later periods are also represented at other series of cave shrines in Kansu. Those at Wan Fo Hsia outside the city of An-Hsi, some seventy miles north-east of Tun-huang, were visited by Sir Aurel Stein and by an American expedition led by Dr. Langdon Warner, who published a monograph devoted to one of the larger caves. Recently the Tun-huang Institute, which has done so much in the last fifteen years to protect and copy the paintings and inscriptions in the caves, has published a report on this series of painted caves, also known as Yu Lin, which seems to continue to a rather later date than Wan Fo Tung. The stylistic development which can be traced in these paintings is discussed below, and there is also a note on the technique and pigments employed in them.

The name of Tun-huang has become famous in the West as a result of the explorations of this neighbourhood by Central Asian expeditions headed by Sir Aurel Stein in 1907, and Professor Paul Pelliot in 1908. There were later Russian and Japanese expeditions under Kozlov and Count Otani. Not long before Stein's visit there had been discovered by chance in one of the caves a walled-up chamber, in which had been stored for nine hundred years a Buddhist collection of texts, documents and paintings, and much of this was brought back to London and Paris, where they have been studied by many experts in the succeeding forty years. Owing to their work Tun-huang has become best known in the West as the provenance of this collection, while the wall paintings have been comparatively neglected.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE TUN-HUANG BUDDHIST COMMUNITY

Tun-huang was an entrepôt on the great routes to the West. The townspeople lived by this trade. So too the Buddhist community at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas lived by the pilgrim traffic, lying on the great land route to Central Asia and India along which all had to pass going or returning to and from the original lands of the Buddha. But it was not a great monastic centre like Wu T'ai-shan. Its climate and isolation have preserved the remains of this much less important group whereas nearly everything has perished in metropolitan China. Up to the Tibetan conquest it appears that the hollowing of the caves, and their decoration with Buddhist paintings were financed out of the donations of visiting pilgrims. But from the mid-ninth century onwards dedications of new work and of repairs show mainly local support, above all from the two dominant families at Tun-huang, the Chang and the Ts'ao. In the early T'ang period the endowment of the monasteries of China was increasing, and they became property-owning corporations.

Kenneth Ch'en[1] presents a case that the persecution of 845 was the culmination of a movement mainly due to economic considerations rather than to Taoist jealousies. It was decreed that bronze, precious metals, etc., taken out of circulation to make images, were to be returned to it. At the time, the clerical population, which had grown disproportionately large through the professions of tax and service evaders, was reduced.

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[1] 'The Economic Background of the Hui-ch'ang Supression of Buddhism', *H.J.A.S.*, vol. 19, 1/2, June 1956, pp. 67–105.

Buddhist Painting in Central Asia and its Influence at Tun-huang

The early wall paintings found at Mirān by Sir Aurel Stein are datable to the third to fourth century A.D., and have no counterpart among the surviving paintings at Tun-huang. In Turfan the earliest wall paintings are those of Toyuq, Chiqgan Köl and Bäzäklik no. 8, which date from the seventh century. By this time Turfan was a Chinese province, and it is not surprising to find some pure Chinese painting in early T'ang style there. On the other hand it is agreed that it was by this route that Indian influence reached T'ang China, and there is undoubtedly a plastic quality in the figure drawing beyond anything found in China, produced by the extensive use of shaded modelling. This style does not continue beyond the first half of the eighth century according to the most acceptable chronology prepared by Dr. N. Rau.[1]

But Indian influence is to be seen earlier in the Tun-huang style of the Wei period, in which musculature is prominently if conventionally depicted. This earlier influence must also have passed through Central Asia. Turfan was under independent Chinese rule from 507, when a Chinese dynasty, the Ch'iu, replaced the Hephtalites. But Iranian cultural and artistic influence must still have been strong there.

STYLISTIC DEVELOPMENT OF PAINTING AT TUN-HUANG

The Wei Period

When first painted the earliest surviving caves at Ch'ien Fo-Tung must have been brilliant. The principal colours are malachite green, pink, azure blue, white and black on a Pompeian red background. The scale is usually rather small and there are often several smaller caves opening off a larger one. The walls are laid out much as are the rock-cut temples of Yün-Kang and Lung Mên, with a larger principal figure or group either modelled in clay and coloured, or entirely painted. The niches in which the modelled clay figures are placed are painted with innumerable disciples and apsarases, some kneeling, some flying, some with musical instruments, others making offerings. Many of the figures have huge haloes and wear crowns, and represent the Bodhisattvas who flocked to hear the preaching of the Lotus sūtra. The figures have weight and are conceived plastically, each on its lotus pedestal. There are fine linear drapery folds corresponding to the long flat folds of the clay figures, which are ultimately of Indian origin and based on the Gupta type from Mathura.

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[1] *O.Z.*, XXIV, pp. 154–5, 1938.

In order to increase the plastic effect there is a conventional kind of chiaroscuro. The high-lights on the faces and the shading of the muscles were originally quite well applied, and have only gained their present grotesque appearance through oxidization over the centuries. For, when some Northern Wei work is revealed through the removal or falling-away of later levels of painting (as in Cave 263), it is seen that the flesh tint was originally pink. It appears that white lead, used as an underpaint, has oxidized and affected the neighbouring areas, so that not only has the pigment darkened but the line has been exaggerated and blurred. Then, as the fronts of the caves have in many cases fallen away, the sunlight has penetrated and bleached some of the reds. In the finest caves, like the dated 285 (P.120N) of A.D. 538, the drawing is most vigorous and expressive, with fine hands and feet. The friezes of Jātaka scenes illustrating former lives of the Buddha on the side walls appear rather hastily painted, but with even more expressive drawing. The rows of Buddhas above, each surrounded by his halo and mandorla, were indeed perfunctorily drawn, but the total effect has been carefully considered, so that the alternate colours, blue, green and red, occasionally foiled with a mother-of-pearl background, should catch the flickering lights of the lamps of the worshippers.

The director of the Tun-huang Institute, Mr. Chang Shu-hung, believes that these walls would have been covered upon important festivals by painted or embroidered textiles—banners which could be hung on pegs which he pointed out near the top of the walls. He also believes that the clay figures were executed by the same hands as the wall paintings because of the stylistic resemblance between them. But this can be sufficiently explained by a common stylistic development. Textile influence may be seen in the patterns on the wall (as in Cave 259) or on the ceiling (Cave 428). In each case there are strips formed of lengths of different patterns which appear to be based on printed matter rather than woven or embroidered designs. The Chinese stylized floral design can easily be distinguished from all-over geometrical patterns of presumably Indian origin. The intensely vital and agitated scenes on the vaulted roofs of Cave 249 are, like the Jātaka scenes, purely Chinese, and are closely connected with earlier Chinese cosmic concepts. It is worth noting that there seems to have been considerable Taoist influence in the Buddhism of the early period at Tun-huang. Taoist diagrams have been detected engraved on the floor of one of the early caves.

Sui Dynasty

The rulers of the Sui dynasty were notable patrons of Buddhism and it is natural that the community at Ch'ien Fo-Tung should have profited from the patronage of pilgrims. There was also at that time an access of fresh influences from the West, from both India and Persia. Many new caves were opened up and the painted decoration reached a new standard of excellence, both in fineness of draughtsmanship and in technical development of composition. The palette is enriched and gold-leaf is freely used for the enhancement of jewellery.

But the most important change is in the pictorial conception. Only the Buddha images retain any sort of sculptural quality; but perspective has become scientific. The group arranged round the Buddha's throne in Cave 405 is set in space and the trees open up a vista behind the throne. Naturally this is even more marked in the landscape scenes illustrating the Jātakas, like that on the ceiling of Cave 419. The buildings are placed diagonally to the picture plane, so as to open up the wall surface, while the varied foliage of the trees prevents an over-rigid appearance (colour pl. 32). The colouring is simple but most effective; blue roofs and light green foliage against the prepared white background. It seems that, from this time onward the subjects at Tun-huang of Chinese origin have always this plain ground, those deriving from India or the West have generally a red ground. The strong feeling for nature keeps showing itself as in the varied species of trees already noted; or in the lotus ponds, represented before the thrones of Manjuśrī and Vimalakīrti in Cave 420, which is one of the largest and richest of the Sui caves (pl. 31).

In Cave 404 a flower vase and a lotus stem are held by two Bodhisattvas on either side of the principal niche with gestures of great elegance. These figures have figured haloes and crowns in relief formed of some kind of applied gesso, which has afterwards been gilded. In two other huge caves of the period, nos. 390 and 427, all round the top of the walls, near the roof, there are hosts of flying apsarases with streaming draperies and scarves held above their heads in upraised hands, the whole almost like flames against the white ground and continuing the idea of ethereal fire beyond the great flame mandorlas which still surround the principal cult figures. Similar figures of apsarases circle in the vaulted roofs of some of the caves, like 407, around a green lotus centre which has at its heart a design of three running hares joined by their ears, which thus form a triangle. The lotus stands for Sumeru the cosmic mountain, axis of the world.[1] The central hare design is of Western origin,[2] and so is the painted canopy design which fills the coved sides of the vault in this cave and in Pelliot 137L (pl. 35). In both cases this canopy ends in pointed scallop borders ornamented with palmettes and pearl-bordered jewels. In 407 there are three inner rows of pearl-bordered motifs while in P.137L there are in all five bands of ornament including one pearl border. The stylized floral insertions in the broadest band resemble those represented in the hunting relief at Tāq-ī-Būstān of Khusrau II, and the whole may be regarded as primarily Sasanian in character.[3]

Sasanian influence is indeed ubiquitous in the Sui caves, for instance in the big pearl borders surrounding the niches of the principal figures (e.g., Cave 420, visible in pl. 31A) or in the corners of the caves (e.g., Cave 375, visible in pl. 28). But the most striking instances occur in the costumes of the clay figures of Bodhisattvas (e.g., in Caves 420 and 427, pl. 33). In Cave 402 the niche is framed by a border of different Sasanian motifs in roundels. This kind of influence could have easily been transmitted through trade in silk and silver plate and through coins which have been found in tombs in Hsian in Shensi, and must have been much commoner at Tun-huang.

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[1] A drawing reproduced in the Tun-huang Institute album, pl. 13, records this composition but loses all the richness and vitality of the original.

[2] Of Sasanian origin it long survived as a motif in East Persian metalwork, cf. R. Ettinghausen in *Ars Orientalis*, II, 1957, p. 543.

[3] Sarre and Herzfeld, *Iranische Felsreliefs*, 1920, Abb. 98.

A striking change takes place in the representation of the donors who dedicated the wall paintings. In the Wei paintings they appear as a frieze of worshippers, mostly monks, below the main compositions (e.g., in Caves 428 and 249), strung out along the wall, with cartouches between, intended for the record of their individual names. These are mere effigies. In the Sui caves the donors' portraits, though not individualized, are attractively grouped, a lady followed by two attendants on a smaller scale, sometimes in conversation, moving gracefully and wearing fashionable dress. They show the type of beauty admired at this period to have been rather tall and slight, with a high waist, and the hair piled high on the back of the head. We know this kind of figure with the flared skirt from tomb clay figures found in China. A well-known example is the large clay figure from the Eumorfopoulos collection now in the British Museum, which has been called both T'ang and Six Dynasties but must evidently be of Sui date. These donors are painted in light clear colours, such as must have been used in secular wall paintings in China at this date; for these subjects are completely Chinese (e.g., Cave 375, pl. 28).

Early T'ang Dynasty

This period develops straight from the Sui and ends with the Tibetan occupation of Tun-huang in 777. Colouring becomes richer and the main compositions are spacious and organized. The paradise scenes which cover the main wall surfaces are laid out like palace precincts with inner and outer courts, bridges crossing the lakes and in the central court two-storeyed pavilions. Perspective is consistently from a high view-point and the layout is lucid. There is a deep blue sky, and rich deep reds with malachite green for the water. Cave 220, which is dated A.D. 642, is now the best example of this early T'ang style (pl. 38) because, having been covered with late T'ang paintings until some ten years ago, the colouring has been protected from the light. The drawing is heavier and more emphatic than under Sui with the clear aim of increasing the plastic effect. But there is no return to the Wei concept of sculptural form. Instead, the figures are set in space in which they can turn and move, even when they are standing and dominant beings, like the Buddhas of Cave 220. The whole scene is bathed with light, which falls on one surface rather than another (as can be seen for instance on the railings in the foreground of pl. 41A, from the same cave). The light also shows the draperies of these Buddha figures to be transparent (pl. 38). On the south wall is a Bodhisattva seated holding a glass bowl which again is represented carefully for the effect of transparency. Closely contemporary with this cave are the paintings in nos. 329 and 332, the latter of which is a dedication of the great Empress Wu (A.D. 683–705). It is remarkable for the extreme plasticity, as for instance in a rather large-scale representation of Vimalakīrti seated on a high armless throne with a great cloak over his shoulders leaning slightly forward and holding his fan against his knee. This figure—drawn almost entirely in russet brown—is almost Michelangelesque in its emphatic volume. On the other hand the side scenes which generally surround the main paradise pictures in the period, are painted in light and clear colours and show a good deal of the plain wall as a background. In Caves 217 and 251 architectural forms give solidity to these parts, but behind and between these are the light green and orange washes which stand for mountains at this period. These compositions could easily stand without change on paper or silk, and they are probably near to the vanished masterpieces of early T'ang scroll painting. The donors' figures, in a frieze below the large paintings, are slight and elegant, resembling those in the detail from Cave 431 reproduced in pl. 37. Here is a little scene from elegant court life reported with deceptively simple means, the work of a skilled and sophisticated painter. In 217 also, the side scenes are full of admirable detail, of men and animals, monks, grooms, courtiers, mules and oxen. There is lively movement and characterization in these small-scale paintings. In Cave 323 where unfortunately this admirably composed group of waiting horses is half concealed by some splashes on the wall, there is movement and internal relationships (pl. 36).

By the beginning of the eighth century there were fresh stylistic changes. The main compositions no longer cover the walls all over like tapestry, but the background wall is allowed to appear. While retaining their clarity and monumental character the figures of Buddha and Bodhisattvas are becoming rigid and conventional (as in Cave 205), perhaps because of their greater scale. Both the coarsening of the line and the mastery of composition are clearly seen in the tonsuring scene in Cave 445 of this period (pl. 41B). On the other hand there is much more developed landscape painting. For the first time the whole surface is fully organized in depth to show receding mountain streams, or peaks beyond peaks. The elements of landscape and the colouring are still conventional, but the figures begin now to inhabit an intelligible position. Brocade-patterned borders are now freely painted as frames to the compositions, and this suggests that they may now represent screen paintings, mounted with silk surrounds. Certainly by later T'ang there can be no doubt about their purpose, for even the joints between the folds of screens are represented in Cave 285 and others like it. But these are the work of another century, the ninth, and must have been painted after the recapture of Tun-huang from the Tibetans by Chang I-ch'ao.

The earliest example of painted screens in the caves seems to be in Cave 79 which may be mid-eighth-century work. But 285 can hardly be earlier than the very end of the ninth century, at which time much pedestrian work was done at Ch'ien Fo-Tung.

The Later T'ang Period

It seems likely that very little wall painting was done during the Tibetan occupation, which lasted almost exactly one hundred years. In Cave 180 is an over-life size painting of a Bodhisattva and beside it the tablet painted with the dedication. The donor was a Chinese lady cut off by the Tibetans from her family in China. This is in conventional T'ang style with transparent draperies and plastic modelling, presumably once pink, but

State Museum, LUCKNOW.

now become a drab bistre. The execution is competent enough but it is lacking in any kind of life.

The elaborate decoration of Caves 156 and 85 gives us a good idea of the position obtaining after the recapture by Chang I-ch'ao in 851. The paradise pictures are complex, and the architecture most elaborate. Perspective is employed to the point of exaggeration, and is complicated by the use of several different view-points in the same picture. Draperies have shaded folds but there is now no attempt to give weight or plastic form to the human body. But the ingenious use of architecture provides areas in depth in which large crowds like the numerous followers of Vimalakīrti (pl. 56) can be easily arranged, and in front of the palaces the dancing apsarases have plenty of room to perform their scarf dances. The host of Bodhisattvas and attendants also surround Samantabhadra and Manjuśrī on their elephant and lion, and move in stately procession without awkward crowding. But the most advanced compositions are unrolled in the two processions of Chang I-ch'ao and his wife the Lady Sung in Cave 156. Here there is no architecture to help deepen the picture space and the focus is entirely on a single, not very wide plane, bounded in the foreground and background by deliberately conventional bars of green representing hills, (colour pl. 52). The composition does cohere, but in harmony rather than mathematical perspective. There is rhythm in the spacing as well as the movement which is proper to a long lateral scroll, and the evidence that these processional pictures provide suggests stronger Chinese influence behind the Yamato scrolls of Japan than had been suspected. In Cave 85 the landscape is more prominent and is also found on the ceiling. In Cave 159, while the main vaulted roof is covered with the Thousand Buddhas, there is a very rich panelled and coffered ceiling over the principal niche, filled with splendid stylized flowers in the full T'ang tradition (pl. 63), and in a number of caves of this late period the decorative frames to the paintings are finely carried out in rosettes or running scroll work. In fact, at this time the style is throughout completely Chinese with no undigested elements from the West or India. But by the end of the ninth century there is noticeable a poverty of invention and a tendency to take refuge in formalism. The moment of Chang I-ch'ao was short. Landscape in the side scenes becomes a patterned frieze of impressionistic trees and behind them the hardly varied rows of alternating peaks and tall trees (as in Cave 285). Pigments are still good and dedications are numerous, but in many caves there is very little vitality.

Five Dynasties and Early Sung

The tenth century was a time of great activity at the caves of Ch'ien Fo-Tung and much repainting and restoration of the clay figures took place. But the work is mostly mechanical and lifeless, repetitive and rigidly formalistic. This is the period to which most of the paintings walled up in about 1017 and of which so many are now in London and Pâris, in the Pelliot and Stein collections, must be attributed. The details from Cave 196 representing the contest of Raudrāksha and Sāriputra is typical of much of this work in its symmetry and emptiness, elaborate decorative borders and hard draughtsmanship. Cave 97 on the other hand is a small new cave of great interest because it echoes a new style of painting introduced at the end of T'ang in Central China. This set of the Sixteen Lohans is a careful if lifeless copy of a good original, probably not wall paintings but hanging scrolls. The facial expressions, and even the drapery folds, seem to be faithfully reproduced. And indeed copies were made also of earlier originals at Ch'ien Fo-Tung, like the processional scene of Chang I-ch'ao which was repeated in Cave 100 (P.66), (see below p. 62) in honour of Ts'ao I-chin, the virtual ruler of Tun-huang from 920–46. This cave is not yet photographed. His nephew married the daughter of the King of Khotan about 980 and in her honour dedicated a large cave (98, P.74) of a new type with a kind of reredos behind the principal altar. The ceiling is elaborately painted with a design of dragons in the central vault, but the execution of the whole is of poor quality, and everywhere pattern is tending to prevail over originality of treatment. Another Sung cave connected with the Khotanese princess (61, P.117) contains her portrait as donor (colour pl. 68) in a frieze which runs round the lower part of the wall. This cave happens to have been extensively photographed by both Sir Aurel Stein (as Ch. VIII) and Paul Pelliot, so that the expanses of paradise painting, all laid out almost like carpets, can be easily studied. This is the kind of painting which has given Tun-huang a bad name as a centre of provincial work of only iconographic interest. Yet even in this cave the elaborate panorama of the Wu T'ai-shan monasteries (of which a detail is reproduced) is interesting, not only for the subject but for the tapestry-like treatment of landscape. But the best drawing of the period is probably found in the very large figures of Bodhisattvas with flowing scarves and rayed haloes who stand with suave grace in a regulated rain of tight flowers. The colouring is usually simple, confined to the sanguine outline drawing which is now so important, and the green and red-lead washes on the plain wall. A good example is the sanctuary of Cave 460, but Langdon Warner has reproduced a number of such figures from Wan Fo Hsia (his pls. XXVI, XXVII, XXIX) though these are rather earlier, and still have some of the weightiness of T'ang, which has quite gone from Cave 460. This style is effective church art of a kind with which we are only too familiar in the West, and it can be seen how readily it was preferred to the earlier paintings which were quickly covered up by the sweeter contemporary style of painting. The repainting continued under the Yüan; and in at least two later periods, the eighteenth and early twentieth century, extensive restorations and refurbishing have been carried out, while several of the largest caves have been adapted for the Taoist cult.

THE LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS IN THE CAVE PAINTINGS AT TUN-HUANG: I, WEI PERIOD

The only difference in the landscape elements between the dated cave paintings of (T.H.I. 285) P.120N, A.D. 538/9, and the 'earliest' cave (257, P.110) is that the latter shows the conventional mountain elements without shaded contours, though there are some linear contours even in this. The tree forms are more primitive, consisting simply of a cluster of six or seven light strokes to represent foliage on a thin, slightly sinuous, trunk. However, both in (T.H.I. 257) P.110, and also in (T.H.I. 428) P.135, which has been attributed to the early sixth century, this landscape is confined to a continuous strip. In P.135 there are three superimposed strips, or registers, of landscape. In both, the space is 'organized', or subdivided by oblique lines of mountains; but in (T.H.I. 428) P.135 there is more sense of space enclosed, partly by the device of allowing the figures to be overlapped by the landscape elements, mountains and trees. But in neither is there any attempt to relate the scale of the figures to the landscape. The whole arrangement is entirely conceptual.

In (T.H.I. 285) 120N the mountains are fully contoured and architectural elements are introduced, set at an angle to the spectator, so as to increase the illusion of depth. No proper proportion has, however, yet been found, either between human figures and landscape setting or, within the latter, between trees and mountains, which shelter under them like people under umbrellas. The background in P.110 is red, as in Sasanian wall painting in Bamiyan, whereas in both 135 and 120N it is 'neutral'. In the ceiling paintings of (T.H.I. 249) P.101 (also attributed to the early sixth century) the landscape elements were less important and more conventional, being little more than space-fillers and a patterned frieze in the foreground.

An interesting question which has already engaged the attention of students of Chinese painting is the extent of influence from the West in the early landscape. Now that the vocabulary of design under the Han is tolerably well known, it can be seen that the rather naturalistic, intensely vital animals, in their often-repeated poses, are in some respects influenced by the animal art of the nomadic peoples, and move in a conceptual world. The 'landscape' consists of crochets and swirls which may be interpreted as either mountains or clouds. In some cases, as in the pottery models of Hilljar type, one can be sure that mountains are intended, and it can be seen that they are represented in a series of contoured swirls. On the inlaid bronzes the forms are freer and break into crochets, but are basically similar as conventional representations of mountain ranges and valleys viewed from a shifting viewpoint, so that the compositions can be 'unrolled'. Traces of painted landscape in this same fluid style have been found on some bronze vessels; but, on these, human figures either move along the crests or appear from behind the hills which serve as coulisses in a stage set.[1] In Han art, trees are represented separately on the engraved stone slabs and in the terracotta tiles with impressed designs. In either case there is a strong tendency towards pattern, disposed symmetrically, ranging from the simple herringbone to the heavily laden and sinuous branches of the cosmic trees. Only in some of the silk weavings of the Han dynasty found in Central Asia by the Kozlov expedition can we see mountains and trees juxtaposed, and then the relationship is unnaturalistic, with no regard for natural scale or for natural growth. Trees are of the two main types already mentioned, but the mountains are geometrical silhouettes with rectangular projections.[1] This kind of rocky crag, perhaps deriving from the fractured surface of exposed rock strata, is not unlike a rock convention found in the wall paintings of the Ajanta caves. There is no need to insist on relationship here, especially as this type of landscape does not occur at Tun-huang. But it is worth noting in passing that it is found on the Tamamushi shrine of the Hōryuji temple at Nara, a Japanese work of the seventh century A.D. to which we shall refer again because of its relationship to the Wei landscape compositions.

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[1] S. Umehara, *Yamato Bunka*, no. 17: Sept. 1955. In Boston *M.F.A.*

The landscape elements in the earliest Tun-huang paintings are quite different from all these Han types. There are strips of overlapping cones, conventionally coloured so as to emphasize the independence of each unit as a mountain image, rather than as a part of a range of hills. This immediately recalls the leaf-shaped cones which stand for landscape on the Sasanian silver hunting dishes. These usually serve as compartments to contain conventionalized elements of vegetation. This Persian style is seen fully developed in the fourth-century dish recently discovered in Mazanderan and published by Dr. R. Ghirshman.[2] The convention spread from Persia to Central Asia and is seen in Turfan[3] in wall paintings generally attributed to the seventh century. Other features of these paintings undoubtedly show Chinese influence, especially the contours inside the mountain cone and the trees outside them with delicate sinuous trunks. At Tun-huang also, in the early Caves, 110 and 135, the trees are outside the cones, though equally disproportionate in size. In the earliest, no. 110, they are still no more than stalks with a few blobs and dashes attached to indicate foliage, but in 135 there is much more naturalism and variety in the trees, which are of recognizable species. But the mountain peaks are still coloured conventionally, alternately red, blue and green, though not quite as geometrical in shape as some of the examples in Turfan. 'Red and blue' is the early name for colour.

On the Sasanian silver dishes the landscape is confined to the function of decorative setting round the outer edge, but it seems likely that in Sasanian wall painting it played a part more like that of the mountains and trees in the earliest Tun-huang style. The remains of a wall painting have been discovered in the excavations of the French delegation at Susa, which the discoverer, Dr. Ghirshman considers to date from the time of Shāpur. Like the painting of the Tun-huang Cave 110 this has an all-over red background, which seems to be 'sown' with small conventional vegetation and mountain compartments.

This compartmented style has a long history in the Near East, for it is clearly seen on the Assyrian stone carved reliefs from Nimrud of the seventh century B.C. It is not in general found, as we have seen, in the Far East. But in a stone-built chamber of the Han dynasty constructed at Liao-yang in eastern Manchuria in the second century A.D. and found by the Japanese in the late 1930's, are hunting scenes with no indication of landscape background; but also representations of the animals symbolic in Chinese cosmography of the Four Quarters, which are depicted against a partitioned background, each partition containing floral elements highly stylized and set between wings; the whole most reminiscent of Sasanian style. Professor Umehara has indeed attributed these paintings to the sixth century A.D. but the Chinese apparently regard them also as of the late Han period. Here in the North it would be most natural to expect to see influence from across the width of the steppes of Inner Asia. But it must be admitted that the paintings in this tomb are entirely Chinese, with feathery trees on sinuous trunks which Sickman may be correct in regarding as close to the metropolitan style of Central China. The horses are painted unnaturalistic contrasting colours so that overlapping figures are quite distinctly visible.

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[1] See W. P. Yetts in *Burlington Magazine*, April 1926, pp. 168–85, pl. IV, h. and *Chinese Exhibition Commemorative Catalogue*, 1936, pl. 145.

[2] *Artibus Asiae*, XVIII (i), 1955.

[3] Dr. A. von Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, IV, 1924, Taf. 10.

Is, then, the landscape in the early wall paintings at Tun-huang of the Wei period to be regarded as truly Chinese? There is not much evidence. On a Buddhist stele dated A.D. 527 from Honan, is carved a compartmented landscape, in which some trees are enclosed while others appear on the horizon.[1] Another Buddhist monument on which some landscape elements appear (dated A.D. 543), shows that in North China as late as this there would still be no sense of depth.[2] It is well to recall, however, with Soper,[3] the conservatism of Buddhist art in North China in the sixth century.

And indeed, already by A.D. 538 in Cave 285 at Tun-huang the mountains are arranged in groups so as to imply internal depth, just as it is implied by the overlapping of figures on several planes in the reliefs at Kung-hsien[4] and at Lung Mên in the Pin-yang cave of the early sixth century. So too in Cave 285 the Tun-huang painters show more interest in the true shapes of trees, for the foliage is more spreading; and this tendency is still more marked by the end of the sixth century in Cave 126B (T.H.I. 295). This seems to be a purely Chinese development, not affecting the organization of the picture space but rather a matter of sensibility, to which Soper has attributed the cult for romantic, wild scenery also shown in Chin poetry.[5] He suggests that this may have been favoured by the shift of the centre of Chinese civilization further south to the Yangtse valley under pressure of the barbarian rule in the North.

There is another feature of the paintings in Tun-huang Cave no. 135 which shows its primitive or conservative character, and this is the organization in strips, as in the Han tomb reliefs. But it must be remembered that such an arrangement is highly convenient for the depicting of narratives such as the Jātaka stories, much more convenient for the purpose than the complex scenes of the Ajanta wall paintings. It was the method adopted in the Gandhara stūpa carvings and elsewhere in early Buddhist art in India, Sanchi and Amarāvatī, and appears at Yün-Kang in Caves VII and VIII, dated by Mizuno A.D. 465–470. Moreover, we can be sure that it was used in Buddhist painting on silk or paper in China as early as the Wei period from the several scrolls preserved in Japan of the Ingakyō sūtras, which although themselves dating from the Tempyō period (A.D. 720–800) are copied from Chinese originals which are perhaps no earlier than T'ang, but preserve features of Wei landscape. In the Hōan-in version in Kyōto some conical mountains remain (though not in the Jōbonrendaiji version) while the trees preserve generally the sinuous form of the Wei landscape at Tun-huang, as in the ceiling of 538 in Cave 285. Altogether, therefore, the evidence although fragmentary, suggests that the Wei dynasty landscape at Tun-huang does indeed show Western elements, but these were also in common use at this time in metropolitan China. So far as the landscape is concerned there is nothing to suggest that Tun-huang was more strongly or earlier influenced by the West than China proper.

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[1] Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, pls. 152–3.

[2] Chavannes, *Mission*, I, pl. 284.

[3] *Art Bulletin*, 1948, p. 179.

[4] Dr. O. Sirén, II, pl. 101.

[5] *Art Bulletin*, vol. 23, 1941, p. 151, citing especially T'ao Ch'ien (A.D. 365–427).

The same may not be true of the 'secular' parts of these paintings—namely the figures of the donors. But that is quite another question. Here we have to do with another tradition. The donors' portraits appear always in a predella panel along the foot of the dedicated composition and quite distinct from it. The arrangement is always symmetrical and usually about a central panel intended for the dedicatory inscription, though this has not always been filled in. The figures are represented full-length, turned three-quarters towards the spectator. They are ranged in line in a formal attitude, whether laymen or women or monks, and wear their official robes or full jewellery. The Chinese officials wear their bonnets with ribbons, which are pendent until the last years of the T'ang dynasty when they are stiffened. They hold their tablets appropriate to court ceremony. But the population of Tun-huang was cosmopolitan and not all the donors were Chinese. Central Asian costume is also found (pl. 56) and the figures in their long brocade dresses or coats with deep lapels are near cousins to the 'knights' of the caves of Turfan seen in the wall paintings of Le Coq's expedition, especially in what he has called 'the Cave of the Sixteen Sword-Bearers' (seventh century A.D.) at Qyzil in Kutcha.[1]

And in fact these rigidly ranged figures are in direct continuation of the old Iranian court tradition, reaching back to the friezes of the royal guards of the Achaemenids. It is a tradition quite different from that of ancient China, as seen in the Han reliefs with their comparative freedom of movement and grouping. This is not to be disguised by the extension to China itself of the Iranian and Central Asian tradition in the train of Buddhism. It is natural to find, on some of the Buddhist stelae of the Wei period, donors carved in the same rigid symmetry as in the Tun-huang wall paintings.[2] They continue to contrast with the economical depiction of Jātaka scenes.

However, in the great paradise pictures which are characteristic of the Buddhist paintings of Sui and T'ang a new conceptual as well as iconographic tradition was started. The composition is lucidly disposed about the central figure of the presiding Buddha, but the most significant fact is the dissolution of the back wall. The paradise is displayed against cosmic space, transcending the limits of mortal vision. The architectural framework is designed to express hierarchic order, but also to suggest the infinite capacity of these homes of souls.

This development is marked by a system of perspective which creates multiple-vanishing points as the spectator views the parts of the painting, while there is no horizon. Naturally the same principle is not applied to the few 'earthly' landscapes which are still depicted. In the elaborate processional scenes in Cave 156 (pls. 51–3) there is an 'open' landscape barred with green washes which may be interpreted either as hills seen through clouds or as mist. That this was an established convention for the indication of atmosphere can be shown by reference to the slight indications which remain of early T'ang landscape painting in China. This is what would be expected, for Tun-huang could not have originated any style, and it is evident that, whereas in the Wei dynasty caves the style was abreast of the most modern in China, by the later T'ang, Tun-huang can only be regarded as provincial and old-fashioned. And at all times the wall paintings there are to be seen as the work of more or less accomplished artisans, professional painters, but not artists. So these 'secular' landscapes at Tun-huang reflect the blue and green style of General Li, Li Chao-tao, the reputed founder of the 'Northern School'. The later continuation of this style in China is usually tight and mannered in handling; but it is probably legitimate to look for an indication of the original feeling in the early Yamato painting of Japan, in the Heian period.

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[1] *Buddhistische Spätantike*, IV, pl. 4.

[2] J. LeRoy Davidson, op. cit., pl. 9, about A.D. 530.

THE SUI AND T'ANG CAVES

It seems that the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589–618) was a time of great activity at the Caves of the Thousand Buddhas. The Tun-huang Institute has enumerated no less than 94 caves of this period. But unfortunately few photographs of these caves were available. Dr. Sirén describes P.150 (T.H.I. 390) and P.121 (T.H.I. 290) as being the best examples of Sui painting at Tun-huang, but only an indistinct plate (271) is published by Pelliot from these two caves. Pelliot also publishes no plates to illustrate his numbers 87 and 137L, but this period is represented in the present publication by eight plates (28–35)[1]. It can now be seen that the Sui period was not only prolific but also showed some of the best work at Tun-huang. Indeed the early seventh century saw the highest level attained.

For the early T'ang period corresponding with the rest of the seventh century we are much better provided. The most extensive paintings of this date are to be found in Caves 64 (T.H.I. 220) and 70 (T.H.I. 217) details from which occupy our pls. 38–41 and 42–5. In 220 a newly discovered painting, sadly damaged, still conveys the dignity of the Bodhisattva and the drama of his meeting with Vimalakīrti. There is masterly control of the crowded group of weighty figures. The other paintings in this cave are from big paradise pictures; one of which is shown entirely in Mrs. Vincent's *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 39. The architecture of the palace buildings gives a solid structure to this composition[2] in which the figures with suitable transcendence float in the air among them, or are grouped unconvincingly like the musicians of pls. 39 and 40. A date equivalent to 686 is given in *Tun-huang i Chu Hsü Lu*, p. 190, for Cave 335 (P.149).[3]

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[1] Eight plates of sculpture in Sui caves are included in *Tsunekaki Kō* (1958), pls. 10–17.

[2] Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. III, pl. 64C. [3] Cf. also Dr. O. Sirén, *ib.*, vol. I, p. 90.

BUDDHIST PAINTING IN CENTRAL ASIA AND THE PARADISE PAINTINGS AT TUN-HUANG

Every one of the wall paintings at Tun-huang corresponds to a scriptural text and most commonly to one or another of the sūtras which were popular during the period when they were produced. But these sūtras were viewed with an eye trained in Chinese culture. This is most obvious in the paradise pictures, those well-populated compositions in which the structure is so ordered and symmetrical. It is curious to regard them for a moment as the direct illustration of such a piece of elusive and complex description as that in the larger *Sukhāvatī-vyūha*.[1] This gives an overwhelming picture of jewel trees, the air full of banners, canopies of flowers, palace buildings, musical instruments, scents and apsarases. As the paradise transcended time it is perhaps not surprising to find the description overwhelming in its opening of vistas in every direction, dealing in vast numbers in time and space. It is thus that the esoteric meaning is given its opportunity for expression.

In the cave paintings, however, the setting is carefully organized, and has even been taken to give evidence for the contemporary palace architecture and layout.

THE LOTUS SŪTRA AT TUN-HUANG

After about the middle of the seventh century the commonest by far of the texts found in the sealed Tun-huang library is the Lotus sūtra in Kumarājīva's translation of A.D. 406. Dr. Lionel Giles has calculated that one thousand and forty-six copies are to be found in the portion of the library now preserved in the British Museum alone. It is also represented in the paintings from the same source on silk and paper in the Museum collection. But the most notable representation from the Stein collection is the embroidered picture of the Buddha on the Vulture Peak preaching the *Saddharma Pundarīka* sūtra, which is probably earlier than any of the paintings in the Stein collection, and from about A.D. 700.[2] An interesting parallel is the famous embroidery in Kanshujï temple.[3]

LeRoy Davidson[4] has recently given the background information which explains the popularity of this sūtra, and in particular its symbolic representation by the apparition of the stūpa containing the previous Buddha Prabhutaratna, or simply of the two Buddhas side by side, or the Buddha Śākyamuni uttering the sūtra itself. On the one hand the doctrine taught was central to Māhāyanist Buddhism—the eternity of the Buddha and his identity through his different appearances; on the other, the manner of the presentation provided just the cosmic display of supernatural magic which was required to attract and hold attention against the competing claims of Taoist magic and elixirs.

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[1] Translated by F. Max Muller in the *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. 49.

[2] *Serindia*, pl. CIV.

[3] Cf. *Bijutsu Kenkyu*, No. 48, 1935, where it is said to be not later than the Nara period (i.e. before 793).

[4] J. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, New Haven, 1954.

TECHNIQUE OF THE WALL PAINTINGS

The Caves of the Thousand Buddhas (Ch'ien Fo-Tung) are hollowed out from a cliff scarp of conglomerate originally laid down by torrents flowing from the Nanshan and then dissected by streams washing through the gravel. This pebbly conglomerate was naturally unsuited for sculpture, and before the surface could be painted it required a dressing of clay. This was finished with a coat of *kaolin* (china clay) mixed with chalk, on which the pigments were applied in a medium of gum, as in the tempera technique. The paintings are, therefore, not frescoes, but technically similar to all wall paintings from Central Asia to China.

The pigments for Central Asian wall paintings have been subjected to some scientific examination, but only from limited samples available in the West. More than thirty-five years ago Sir Arthur Church added a note to Sir Aurel Stein's reports in *Serindia*, 1921, on the composition of pigments used in an early painting from Miran, datable to about the third century A.D. He found a pink ground-wash of ferric oxide; a carbon black made from soot; a pale green from malachite; and a yellow-brown from ochreous earth. Langdon Warner brought back some specimens from the late T'ang wall paintings of Wan Fo Hsia, near in time and place to those at Tun-huang, and a report on these findings by Mr. R. J. Gettens was published in 1930 in Warner's *Buddhist Wall Paintings*, p. 9. He found the following pigments present in these specimens: red and white lead; carbon black; indigo; red ochre; malachite green; blue azurite; vermilion; a yellow, probably gamboge, and a vegetable red made from safflower. Mr. Gettens does not record iron oxide, but a sample from one of the late caves at Tun-huang submitted by Professor J. Needham showed that pigment, which would certainly be expected in the tenth century or earlier.

Mr. and Mrs. Vincent have brought back samples of pigment from one of the Wei caves at Tun-huang just sufficient to allow analysis. They have been examined in the British Museum Research Laboratory by Dr. A. F. Werner, who allows me to quote from his report. In all instances the ground layer consisted of a mixture of china clay (kaolin) and chalk containing a small proportion of iron oxide, but sufficient to give a reddish colour. Apart from the carbon black the only pigments used were ultramarine in a white-lead matrix; vermilion; an organic red, perhaps madder; while china clay was also used as a white pigment. It is of course the use of the white lead which is mainly responsible for the discolouration of the Wei paintings, which have blackened extensively from oxidization. Another sample of Wei painting submitted by Professor Needham to Dr. Werner contained in addition a green, probably malachite.

It is said to be possible to distinguish the layout of the designs of the paintings by pressure on the clay dressing where the outline was traced with the aid of a pounce. Certainly pattern books must have been employed by the painters for compositions are often repeated in the different caves. Only the extraordinarily dry climate of Tun-huang has made possible the survival of the paintings on the walls and ceilings of the caves. Since the caves had narrow approach passages the strong sunlight has not penetrated directly, and little fading has taken place except where falls of cliff have laid open the inner cella.

The roofs of the Wei caves are painted in imitation either of textile canopies, like those represented in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Chinois 4254) ninth-century scroll illustrating the contest of Sāriputra and Raudrāksha; or of coffered beam construction similar to those found within ruined Central Asian shrines discovered by Dr. A. von Le Coq in Qyzil, dating from the seventh century.[1] This practice is also found in the Buddhist caves of India, save that there, actual timber beams were introduced, though with no structural functions. In Kashmir, as in Central Asia, such lantern vaulting is structural.

Other of the Wei caves (e.g., P.101, P.120N) have vaulted roofs which are painted with heavenly themes, sun and moon, wind gods, thunder gods and various supernatural creatures. The idea of such a celestial theme may well have been transmitted from the West via Central Asia. Certainly, as Professor Saxl[2] pointed out, the practice of depicting maps of the heavens on the ceilings of buildings is of great antiquity in the Mediterranean world. They rest on the achievement of Greek science. The Umayyad hunting lodge in the Syrian desert at Qusayr Amra dating from the early eighth century has in its famous painted cupola only the oldest surviving example in the Mediterranean area of such a practice and still shows its scientific basis: there is evidence from the Indo-Iranian area of such an idea in the painting of the sun in the vault of the colossal Buddha niche at Bamiyan (third century A.D.)—and for the intermediate area, from Qyzil in Turfan, that such personifications of the celestial bodies were painted in the vaults of Buddhist caves of the seventh to eighth centuries. But they are diagrammatic and mythological.

The architecture of the caves is not our first consideration. The implications of the 'lantern roof' in these two caves for Western influence at Tun-huang has been discussed by A. C. Soper,[3] who shows that these roofs are actually represented here as canopies, of more or less tent-like structure. He also suggests that the Lotus found in the centre of many of these ceiling designs stands for Mount Sumeru, the cosmic mountain.

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[1] *Bilderatlas*, 1925, figs. 235 and 236.

[2] F. Saxl, 'The Zodiac of Qusayr 'Amra' in K. A. C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. I, Oxford, 1932, pp. 289–94.

[3] 'The "Dome of Heaven" in Asia', *Art Bulletin*, vol. 29, 1947, pp. 225–48, especially p. 243.

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NOTES ON THE PLATES

Plate 1 Cave 249: P.101

Detail of clay figure of Buddha, probably Maitreya, seated with legs pendant before elaborate flame vesica in five registers. Music-making Devīs fly above. The head is a later restoration.

Plate 2 Cave 259: P.111

Last third of fifth century.

Clay figures of Prabhutaratna and Śākyamuni Buddhas seated on one throne in a niche representing the open stūpa. Apsaras figures painted on the wall behind them and above them, and small disciples with haloes behind them, listening to the teaching of the Lotus sūtra. Two large clay Bodhisattva figures on either side. Painting of the Thousand Buddhas visible on the wall beyond, on a red ground (Pelliot, pl. 193). Dated by Sirén early sixth century. Compared by Davidson to Yün-Kang, 'with which it is presumably contemporary'. The date is therefore probably late fifth century.

The subject is very common in the Yün-Kang caves,[1] and continued at Lung Mên.[2] It is said to have spread from China to Tun-huang about this time and not to have been found earlier in Central Asia. The robes of both Buddhas cover the left shoulder entirely, and partly cover the right shoulder, thus conforming with the practice in the earlier caves at Yün-Kang. One leg of each Buddha is pendant and the other raised to lie horizontally on the throne without crossing the other thigh.

Details of drapery folds are more clearly visible in Pelliot, pl. CXCIII, but in our plate too can be clearly seen to be much less flat than at Yün-Kang, and far nearer to Central Asian prototypes (Bamiyan, Revak), a style continued in its freedom at Fondukistan (seventh or early eighth century). It is interesting to note that the swinging draperies occur already in these stucco figures of about A.D. 500 at Tun-huang.

The shape of the Bodhisattva's crown is more clearly visible in the profile view in Pelliot, pl. CXCIV.

Plate 3 Cave 257: P.110

About A.D. 500. (Hsieh, no. 243.)

Clay figure of Maitreya seated with legs pendant. Hands missing but probably right in *abhaya mūdra*, right shoulder bare. Drapery folds resemble Yün-Kang, especially Cave XII. The Future Buddha is surrounded in his niche by painted figures of Bodhisattvas. The figure on the extreme right is wearing armour.[1] He is presumably a Lokapāla, of which examples are to be found in the stuccoes of Qyzil:[2] but these are not likely to be earlier than the Tun-huang example.

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[1] E.g., Cave VI, S. Mizuno, vol. III, pl. 168, but both shoulders are here covered, and Cave IX, ib., vol. VI, pls. 13–14. The left Bodhisattva is very close to Yün-Kang Cave II, S. Mizuno, vol. III, pl. 164.

[2] J. LeRoy Davidson, p. 27; S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, *Yün-Kang*, vols. VIII–IX, 1953, p. 73.

Plates 4–6 Cave 257: P.110 (PELLIOT, pls. 189–90)

About A.D. 500. Various predella scenes illustrating the Deer Jātaka. (Chavannes, I, no. 58; *Tripitaka*, VI, 5, pl. 75.)

The red ground of these paintings suggests the possibility of a relation with Sasanian Iran. This is, moreover, supported by the appearance of many little plants all over the background. Being almost transparent they are more easily visible in the monochrome than in the colour plate. This feature is found in a fragmentary wall painting discovered by Dr. Ghirshman in the winter of 1950–1 in Susa, in circumstances which have led him to date it to the reign of Shāpur II (A.D. 309–29). Conical mountains overlapping and containing a single interior contour line are found on some Sasanian silver dishes.[3]

The Deer Jātaka

The story unfolds from left to right. In the lower corner the King of Benares is being rescued from a sixty cubit pit, filled with water, by the Golden Deer, which is the incarnation of the Bodhisattva. In the next section the King kneels to thank his benefactor, and receives from him instruction in the rules of living and government. The Golden Deer is again twice represented on the right, and in the continuation of this section of the wall painting,[4] Śākra appears to be arranging to test the King's virtue by interposing the figure of the Deer between the King and his archery target. This further section is most clearly seen in the sixth plate of the Tun-huang Institute publication, *Tun-huang pi hua chi ch'ing lu*, reproduced from a water colour copy. Here can be seen a spotted male figure pointing with outstretched right arm at the mounted King, identifiable by his crown with exaggerated wings (perhaps a Sasanian feature), and by the umbrella held over him by a mounted follower. They move to the left and are followed by a two-wheeled carriage with awning and silk curtains at front and rear, in which a royal lady is presumably riding. The episode suggests a parallel with the opening of the Book of Job with Satan going to and fro on the earth, and abashed by Job's virtue comparable with that attributed to the King after his conversion by the Golden Deer in the Jātaka.

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[1] This is more clearly seen in Professor P. Pelliot, pl. CXC.

[2] Cf. Dr. A. von Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, Bd. I, Taf. 28.

[3] E.g., J. Orbeli and C. Trever, pls. 30, 27, 15, 7, the last of which seems to represent Shāpur III, (383–8). Also Erdmann, *Die Kunst Irans zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Berlin, 1943, Taf. 65, late Sasanian. There is also the curious cup (J. Orbeli and C. Trever, pls. 36–8) with highly stylized animals in compartmental landscapes of alternate conical (or leaf) and heart shapes.

[4] Visible in Professor P. Pelliot, pl. CLXXXIX.

Plate 7 Cave 257: P.110

About A.D. 500.

Below five rows of eighteen Buddhas each, part of the Thousand Buddhas represented in this cave, is a predella showing Śākyamuni, on the right, and the Seven Buddhas of the Past, in panels separated from one another by long cartouches. These seem, however, to be empty, and the significance of the different 'vehicles' on which they are borne has not been discovered. Of the four shown in the plate one rides upon elephants, alternately white and black. The second is carried by four white horses, the third by monkeys, and the fourth by flame-like dragons. They form a kind of unity through the continuous mountain strip which lies below them. A wider view is given in Pelliot, pl. CXC.

It is possible that, following the example of Yün-Kang, Caves 13 and 10, the painter has put in Maitreya, the Future Buddha, rather than Śākyamuni, with the Seven Buddhas, but he is not represented with legs pendant as Maitreya is normally represented.

Hsieh Chih-liu in his catalogue of subjects of the Tun-huang wall paintings, *Tun-huang i Chu Hsü lu*, p. 23, lists eleven paintings of Bodhisattvas in this predella on the north wall without identifying them, but this number must surely be a mistake for Seven Buddhas. He gives one additional vehicle, bulls. (Height: 1 m. 90 cm. × Width: 11 m. 20 cm.)

Plates 8 *and* 9 (*detail in colour*) Cave 251: P.103

About A.D. 500. (Hsieh, no. 249.)

Śākyamuni seated with right hand in *abhaya mūdra*, with halo and flame vesica, between two Bodhisattvas, and surrounded by flying apsarases; probably the preaching of the Lotus sūtra, though no stūpa appears overhead; but instead apparently lotuses in a vase. Frieze of devīs playing musical instruments in arcades along the cornice below the roof, which is painted to simulate light wood construction as of a tent or canopy. A closely similar group is painted in the opposite (north) wall of this cave.[1]

The highlight on the noses, here grotesquely emphasized through colour alteration, is a Central Asian feature, afterwards introduced into the court style of Chinese painting in a more discreet form.

Plate 10 Cave 249: P.101

Early sixth century. (Hsieh, no. 250.) Both Sickman and Akiyama date this cave-painting to c. 475–500.

Buddha standing on a lotus, with flaming vesica, hands in *dharmaćakra mūdra* between two Bodhisattvas, and two Arhats with four apsarases flying above, probably representing Śākyamuni on the Vulture Peak preaching the Lotus sūtra. The scene is surrounded by the Thousand Buddhas. The right shoulder is partly covered, and the Buddha's pose is that of a ćakravartin (Universal King) with feet apart. The drapery hangs in pointed pleats, in a manner resembling the rock carved Bodhisattvas of Lung Mên Cave XIV.[2]

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[1] Cf. *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 12.

[2] S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, pl. 40.

The central part of this subject is reproduced in colour from a copy in water colour in the T.H.I. portfolio, pl. 3. This may be reliable for the colour, but it is not for the flesh modelling.

Plates 11A *and* B, 12. Cave 249: P.101

Early sixth century. (Hsieh, no. 250.)

The Vaulted Ceiling

Above a frieze of Buddhas seated in meditation in mountain caves in wild country, in which deer can be seen running[1] (pl. 11A), rises the cone-shaped vault painted with figures of heavenly beings among clouds and with flat, square centre (colour pl. 12). This is painted to simulate the typical wooden lantern roof of Central Asia of diminishing squares set transversely. In the centre is depicted a lotus. A. C. Soper[2] has suggested that in this position it stands for Mount Sumeru the cosmic mountain, axis of the world. But here on the principal side of the vault, above the head of the principal Buddha image, is a literal representation of the palace of the gods on Mount Sumeru (pl. 11B). In front stands Aśura, huge, four-armed, holding the sun and moon above his head. On his right is the thunder god. On the opposite side of the roof (colour pl. 12) the central subject is a lotus flower, perhaps supporting a jewel, but in any case, representing the Buddhist faith. It is supported by two demons, with wings and fierce animal heads. This action is to be interpreted in the light of the similar subject on the roof of Cave 285 (colour pl. 23). On either side are apsarases, birds (*hamsa*) and dragons. Below is an acrobat. This kind of subject reminds one of the pre-Buddhist roof-gable decoration of the Han tombs of the Wu family, in its general cosmological scheme. This view is strengthened by the subject of one of the other quarters (pl. 11A), the central figure in which seems to be a magician driving a celestial dragon chariot, a completely Taoist subject. The whole thus represents a view of the heavens taken over from the representation of Hsi Wang-mu, in her cloud kingdom, but with the lotus substituted for the figure of the Queen herself. A nine-headed dragon is regularly found in such Han cosmogonies, and so are Fêng birds like the two in pl. 12.

Plate 13 Cave 288: P.120P

Early sixth century.

Śākyamuni seated in *abhaya mūdra* preaching under the Bodhi tree. Apsarases above and disciples below on either side, but in an entirely unsymmetrical composition. He is seated on a stylized rock throne. Since the hands are not in *dharmaćakra mūdra* this probably shows once more the preaching of the Lotus sūtra, in spite of the tree.

Similar to pls. 8 and 9 and to the Yün-Kang cave sculptures in Cave VIII.[3] The modelling of the neck and chest of the Buddha and the torsos of the Bodhisattvas show a stylized formula.

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[1] A detail of the deer hunt is reproduced, for a coloured copy, by S. Mizuno, 1958, pl. 8.

[2] A. C. Soper, *Art Bulletin*, vol. 29, 1947, p. 245.

[3] E.g., S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, vol. V, pls. 53 and 99.

Plate 14A Cave 288: P.120P

Ceiling above the Buddha painting of pl. 13 with designs alternating flower vases and plants.

Plate 14B Cave 428: P.135

About A.D. 520–30.

This is a complex design of superimposed lotus plants, of flame-like form, set between stripes of a tent-like structure. The roof of this part of the cave rather resembles the painted roof of the Hōryuji Kondō. Here, however, the lotus plants seem to culminate in a flaming jewel in the topmost blossom. These are believed to date from the original construction of the building in the seventh century A.D.* In the spandrel below the ceiling can be seen in pl. 14B a Buddha in *abhaya mūdra* between Bodhisattvas and worshippers.

**Note*

For an infra red detail photograph see the Ueno Park, Institute of Art Research, Optical Studies Group volume 'Studies on Old Art Objects through Optical Methods', Yoshikawa Kobunkan, Tokyo, 1955, p. 17 of English text by Akiyama and pl. 50.

Plate 15 Cave P.105

About A.D. 530.

Detail of Buddha (head and shoulders) in clay, in painted niche. Shoulder partly bare. In the flame vesica there can be distinguished figures of many apsarases, while larger ones fly overhead.

Plate 16 Cave 428: P.135[1]

About A.D. 520–30.

This shows part of the painting, in three registers, illustrating the Jātaka of the Tigress. The whole subject appears in Pelliot's pl. 280. As Sickman has pointed out, the story is to be read in the painting by proceeding from right to the left: but in the second register, left to right.

In this Jātaka Prince Mahāsattva (who is of course a previous incarnation of Śākyamuni) offers his own body to feed a starving tigress and her cubs. This Jātaka was commemorated by a magnificent jewelled stūpa at Taxila which is mentioned about A.D. 400 by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hsien as one of the Four Great Stūpas. Its early popularity is shown by its representation on one of the four sides of the Aśoka reliquary preserved in China,[2] and its exceptional use in later times, e.g., in the Tamamushi Shrine, probably seventh century, and at Chüan-chou on a Sung Pagoda.

On the upper register the Prince is shown going out hunting, on the middle register he strips and throws himself to the tigress, in the third the courtiers discover with horror the Prince's bones, and on the left the Prince is revealed as the enthroned Buddha.

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[1] Detail from the side wall of this cave in S. Mizuno, 1958, pl. 6.

[2] See A. C. Soper in *Monumenta Serica*, IV, pp. 654–6.

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Plate 17 Cave 428: P.135

Flat roof painted in imitation of coffered wooden vaulting. In pl. 7 there is an apsaras in every corner of the simulated lanterns, while the cross pieces are painted with formal decorative designs, except for one on which are painted two tigers facing one another, no doubt in reference to the Tiger Jātaka depicted on the wall below. The patterns on the 'beams' are probably all from textiles. One shown on the top left-hand corner of the plate seems to be from a batik. This is the finest ceiling to be published from Tun-huang, rich and varied in design and colour, and drawn with real virtuosity. The group of apsarases shown on the left is clearly derived from the style of Bamiyan. The vault of the roof, which is naturally flat, simulates the lantern vault system of construction as practised in a country of timber building, which is actually to be seen at Bamiyan, Afghanistan.[1]

Plates 18 *and* 19 Cave 254: P.105

About A.D. 477–499. Jātaka of the Tigress and the assault of Māra.

Separate scenes from a deep frieze—the whole of this section of the wall is shown in *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 14.[2] On the left is a stūpa, of Chinese, and not Indian shape, square in plan and with three storeys below the *harmika* raised on a podium of three steps.

Compared with the straightforward narrative of the Jātaka depicted in Cave 135 and reproduced in pl. 16, the subject here is treated in an esoteric manner. On the right is the kneeling figure of the Prince who has taken off his clothes; immediately above the tigress are three monks, two of them with haloes, and in front of them is a prostrate figure of a spectator overcome with emotion, according to the sūtra story, (*Tripitaka* III, p. 427).[3]

Plate 19

Śākyamuni assaulted by Māra.

This well-known incident immediately precedes the Enlightenment. The Future Buddha is seated on his adamantine seat beneath the Bodhi tree. Māra, god of love and death, representative of the desires and ambitions of this world, brings against him his demon host, here represented in the detail reproduced by two warriors in armour, and also his three beautiful daughters to distract him. These are seen in the foreground in front of the warriors. Behind them is the skeletal form of Yama, god of death, who is only another form of Māra. Śākyamuni calls on his accumulated merits through many incarnations to defeat this double assault. To ratify his claims to superiority he calls the earth to witness, reaching down to touch it with his right hand. Immediately the Enlightenment follows so that this gesture early came to symbolize the achievement of Buddhahood. In front of his throne two disciples prostrate themselves.

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[1] B. Rowland, *Art and Architecture of India*, 1955, pl. 56A.

[2] There are two good details on a large scale after water colours in the Tun-huang Institute album, pls. 7 and 8. Pl. 7 includes practically the whole area of our pl. 17, while pl. 8 is a detail showing the falling devotee and the tigress and cubs about to devour his body. It appears darker and heavier than in our plate.

[3] The *Vyāghrī Jātaka*, the tigress and her cubs, is represented seven times in the cave paintings of Qyzil. See Dr. A. von Le Coq and Waldschmidt in 'Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien', Teil VI, *Neue Bildwerke*, II, 1928, p. 24 and Taf. C, figs. 57–62. These are all simpler scenes than ours in Cave 105, but the fallen Bodhisattva lies in a strikingly similar attitude in 'The Foot Washing' cave, perhaps suggesting a common original.

Plates 20–6 Cave 285: P.120N

Dated A.D. 538/9 (Hsieh no. 218 bis).

This cave was very fully photographed by Pelliot who devotes eighteen plates to his record of it (252–68).

The whole left wall with its five niches, all now empty, appears on his pls. 253 and 255 with details on P. pls. 253, 254 and 256. In the last are the two Buddhas, Śākyamuni and Prabhutaratna seated on a single throne. Although they are not represented inside a stūpa this clearly indicates the Lotus sūtra. This is on the extreme right of the wall. In the centre (P. pl. 255) there are two representations of Śākyamuni preaching to six monks and five nuns while Vimalakīrti is seen visited by Manjuśrī. This is a far simpler representation than that in Cave 17 bis, (see pl. 56 below) which is some two hundred years later. But here, too, the preaching of the Lotus sūtra is associated with the meeting with Vimalakīrti.

On the right wall is a throned Buddha preaching, attended by five Bodhisattvas and five monks; and beyond, the Six Buddhas of the Past and Śākyamuni and Prabhutaratna again sharing their throne, above three niches, the central of which is in the form of a great stūpa (P. pl. 260). On the wall at the back of the cave is a large niche occupied by a Buddha with legs pendant, presumably Maitreya (P. pl. 264) while on either side are smaller niches containing Buddha in *dhyāni mūdra* (P. pls. 261 and 264). The rest of this wall is covered by figures of the sun and moon, the planets, the signs of the zodiac and below these, twenty devas of the Enlightened World of Vajradhātu (P. pls. 261–6).

Plate 20 shows some of the twenty devas,[1] of whom the chief, represented on the left side at the top, is Candradevī, the moon goddess (pl. 22B): below, Vāsu (P. pl. 262). On the right side (P. pl. 263), Sūrya (pl. 22A) in his chariot, while below (pl. 20) are Maheśvara, Kumāra and Vināyaka, the white elephant-headed demon king as a demonic flame-wrapped figure (pl. 21).[2] The significance of the inclusion of the Rishi Vāsu has been discussed by Matsumoto and by LeRoy Davidson.[3] He is associated with Avalokiteśvara as an ascetic who is justified by the Buddha for his pious deeds, and is frequently connected with representation of the Lotus sūtra. The sixth century was the period when the popularity of the Lotus sūtra was at its height in China and at Tun-huang. The vaulted roof (pl. 25A) shows a simulated lantern in flat paint, with simulated canopy, double scalloped border and long tassels at the corners, and supernatural beings flying through the air above mountains in which are figures of meditating Buddhas (P. pls. 267–8).

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[1] For the list of devas see Soothill and Hodous, *Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms*, p. 184*b*.

[2] Cf. A. Waley, *Catalogue*, no. XXV, p. 55, pl. 20, Vināyaka is described (ib., p. 56) as a demonic flame-wrapped figure.

[3] *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, p. 48.

Plates 22A *and* B — Cave 285: P.120N

Dated A.D. 538. Chariots of sun and moon.

Up in the corner near the roof, where the light is much less strong, the colours have changed little. The fluid brushwork is the same as in the predella scenes in this same cave, and they are no doubt painted by the same hand. The figures are conceived plastically and at the same time dramatically—a combination also found at Ajanta, as M. Phillipe Stern has pointed out. The animals which draw the chariots, three phoenixes (or peacocks) for the sun, and three oxen for the moon (resembling the one *hamsas* and the other *makaras*) are also distinctly Indian, and ultimately of Persian origin. In each case there are two figures in the chariot, one defensive looking forward, holding a kite-shaped shield, the other like Atlas supporting the actual image of the sun or moon; a disk in which is a small four-horse sun chariot or half-obliterated moon chariot, rests upon the rectangular framework of some plaited material which forms the superstructure of the four-wheeled chariots. This charioteer is perhaps Agni, the 'cosmic charioteer'.[1] It is incorrectly identified as the moon god by Le Coq.[2] Herzfeld has argued for a Sasanian origin of the four-horse chariots of the sun and moon in *Jhrb. der Preuss, Kunstsammlungen*,[3] where he publishes a seal with Pehlevi, inscription of the first half of the fourth century A.D. The design consists of two winged horses with two wheels visible between, and above them the full face of the sun surrounded by a great rayed nimbus. He points out that at Bodhgaya the chariot of the sun still has the Greek four-horse chariot and not the seven horses of Sūrya found later at Elura and elswhere. It is to be noted that in our details from Tun-huang the four horses within the disk may or may not be winged but that the larger vehicle on which this disk rests is drawn by birds, either peacocks or geese (they seem to have crests, however).

At Bamiyan at the head of the niche of the 'Buddha of 35 metres', is depicted a chariot of the sun.[4] B. Rowland draws attention to the personification of sun and moon on either side of the Buddha on Kanishka's reliquary. Actually they are seen beside the royal figure.[5]

Notes

1. Rowland, however, compares with Mithra and identifies the figure as Buddha.

2. These examples of sun chariots in Central Asia cited by Le Coq, (p. 29, figs. 220–3) are later in date and therefore of no special interest to us. F. Saxl[6] refers to the silver Sasanian dish, found at Perm and now in the Hermitage, a representation of the chariot of the moon. (It had been claimed by Herzfeld as a view of the throne of Khusrau.) The fact that here the four oxen drawing a chariot on which a figure stands beneath an aedicula

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[1] See Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, 1935, p. 27.

[2] *Bilderatlas*, fig. 225.

[3] Herzfeld in *Jhrb. der Preuss Kunstsammlungen*, 1920, pp. 103–47.

[4] Godard and Hackin, 1927, pp. 20–4, fig. XXII, where it is said to be a moon figure. But see B. Rowland, 'Buddha and the Sun God', *Zalmoxis*, I, 1938, pp. 69–84.

[5] Bachhofer, p. 148.

[6] F. Saxl, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. II, 1923, p. 112.

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which itself supports the symbolic representation of the moon—confirms the Sasanian origin of the two details here reproduced. Saxl points out how unstructural (and therefore oriental) the whole thing is on the Perm dish; and exactly the same is true of our representation. The principal figure in the moon chariot, as in the sun, is male, and this points to the Persian origin, where the moon god is male, and moreover according to the Avesta a warrior god, just as he is shown here.[1]

The upshot appears to be that symbols of sun and moon are placed on either side to indicate the cosmic rule of the figure seated below or between them.

Plates 23, 24, 25A *and* B Cave 285: P.120N

The vaulted roof of Cave 285 shows a sky full of celestial figures, demons, apsarases and mythical creatures, above a frieze of meditating Buddhas, each seated on a hill covered with delicate trees. On the opposite side (Pelliot pl. 268) a range of mountains interrupts the Buddha frieze, and with the contouring of the peaks and the alternating colours is a characteristic example of Wei landscape. The air above is thick with cloud forms and falling blossoms and all the figures like the wind god, Vāyu, appear as if in rapid movement. The world of yakshas is part of an older heritage adopted and adapted by Buddhism. In this instance the painting is distinctly reminiscent of the Taoist spirit world depicted in the Chinese paintings of the Han dynasty, as has been explained in the note on pls. 11 and 12. They are, however, more disciplined and controlled, and, by their position, subordinated to the Buddhist faith set out in the paintings on the walls below.

'Eight classes of supernatural beings are mentioned in the Lotus sūtra', state Soothill and Hodous, p. 41*a*; 'Deva, Nāga, Yaksha, Gandharva, Aśura, Garuda, Kinnara and Mahoraga'.

The mahoraga is a big-bellied demon of python form, the kinnara have horses heads on men's bodies and are musicians; the gandharva also are musicians accompanying Indra. The asuras are enemies of the gods, ugly and huge demons. The yakshas also are malevolent rulers under the control of Vaiśravāna. It is not possible to distinguish these various classes in our ceiling. Nearly the whole vault is visible in Pelliot's two plates (267–8), and it seems as though in the centre of each side is a lotus supporting some relic or stūpa. This is most clear in colour pl. 24, where on either side of a 'jewel' supported by a lotus are the sky gods, Fu Hsi with his square and Nü-wa with his compasses. They regularly figure in Han dynasty representations of the heaven of Hsi Wang-mu. According to Helen Chapin[2] the thunder demon (Lei Shen) should have a pig's head and bat's wings, and this may therefore be the figure in the upper centre of pl. 23, and again on the right of pl. 24. In this article Miss Chapin remarks on the presence of Tantric deities at Tun-huang.

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[1] F. Saxl, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. II, 1925, p. 103, on the throne of Khusrau, quoting Firdausi and Al-Th'alibi. The latter says the throne was of teak and ivory. According to both there was a kind of canopy showing the heavens with the planets, especially with the 'moon in all its phases'. *Majestas Domini*, in Asia Minor in both heathen and Christian times, includes sun and moon in canopy.

[2] *J.I.S.O.A.*, VI, p. 41.

Plate 26 Cave 285: P.120N

Battle against bandits.

Above the three niches on the right wall, as already mentioned, is a painting of the shared throne of Śākyamuni and Prabhutaratna; and above to the left the twice repeated scene of Śākyamuni seated preaching to disciples in a hilly landscape. All this part is reproduced in Pelliot's pl. 255.

This subject has not been definitely identified. Matsumoto, writing in the *Kokka*,[1] merely says that the painting represents two moments: in the first prisoners who are awaiting execution; in the second they are being converted and ordained as monks. Sirén reads the subject[2] from left to right and describes it as the conversion of five hundred robbers. The story is given in the *Hsi Yü Chi*, VI (Taishō Trip. L I 900). In spite of one unexplained detail the subject must be from a similar story, for the fighting is between armed soldiers on horse-back and foot, and civilians armed only with bows, swords and kite-shaped shields. As is remarked elsewhere, the Tun-huang paintings probably often follow *pien-wên* rather than canonical scriptures.

Two versions of the story have been preserved. Both attach to a forest outside the city of Śrāvastī, visited by Hsüan-tsang, the Andhavana (literally *dark forest*). He relates that five hundred robbers were terrorizing the countryside. They were overpowered by an army sent by the king, and as punishment were blinded. Later the Buddha preached to them and, when they were converted, told them to pluck leaves from this wood which would cure their blindness. The other version related by Fa Hsien[3] does not mention the five hundred robbers but says that the wood originated from the sticks of the five hundred blind men who received their sight on hearing the Buddha preach. They abandoned the sticks, no longer required, which took root and grew into trees. Neither version contains any reference to a lady. Yet the figure facing the scene of punishment appears to be a lady. It is possible, however, that this is a young prince. The figure in front is certainly a lady.

Plate 27. The Parinirvāna. Cave 295: P.126B

About A.D. 550–75, attributed to Sui period by Bachhofer. (Hsieh, no. 89 bis.)

The Buddha lies, as he is always represented in this scene, on his right side with left hand extended by his side and the right hand behind his head. His couch is set down between two sal trees, and there is a heap of flowers brought by the people of the neighbouring town of Kuśinagara beside him. His disciples are seated round him, monks at his head and the women of the town who weep unrestrainedly at his departure. Two disciples are distinguished as usual—Māhakasyapa, who had not been present during his last hours, kissing his feet which miraculously project beyond the winding cloths; and Subhadra, his last convert, who sits in front as a penitent.[4] For a representation see the Kinnari Cave of Qumtura, in the neighbourhood of Kutscha.[1] This is more elaborate and shows gods as well as monks around the body of the Buddha and probably dates from the early eighth century.

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[1] *Kokka*, no. 604, March 1941.

[2] O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, 1956, III, pl. 37, and I, p. 66.

[3] H. A. Giles, translation, 1923, p. 31.

[4] Cf. Professor P. Pelliot, pls. 245 and 285.

Sui Dynasty

Plate 28 Cave 375

The side walls, as usual in the Sui caves, are covered with the Thousand Buddhas. These are depicted with skill, to be seen in the dim light of lamps. In diagonal lines are picked out in beautiful shining white, which has not changed colour in one thousand three hundred and fifty years, every sixth Buddha figure. The glistening white is formed of powdered mother-of-pearl. Outlines of the Buddhas were no doubt repeated with the aid of stencils.

The frieze of female donors below is freely drawn as a variation on a regular pattern of tall principal figures, of great elegance, with pale red and green dresses on the pearly white ground. Behind each walks (for it is a true procession) two attendants, female nearer the spectator and male beyond. The profile of these figures differs from that of the succeeding periods of the T'ang dynasty. The hair is dressed on the top and back of the head; there is a natural waist, and the skirt is flared and falls to a short train. The Sui dynasty lasted only thirty years but its style is distinctive—especially so in landscape. Here too there is a shining white background against which figures, buildings and landscapes are seen in clear detail. These compositions are dense but always lucid. Buildings are shown in perspective but there is no distance, only a single plane like a stage. On this, foliage, figures and buildings are skilfully varied.

The range of colour is not great but subtly shaded in greens and blues. It is, however, the fine draughtsmanship which gives the painting of the period its greatest distinction.

Plate 29 Cave 405

In one of the formal icons of the enthroned Buddha attended by disciples and Bodhisattvas, which now stands half-exposed to the full light of the sun through the falling away of part of the approach passage to Cave 405 and is therefore faded, it is now possible to see how the painter laid out his field. The vertical and horizontal lines which divide it into squares are now plainly visible even in reproduction; and it can be seen that they were laid by the snapping of a stretched cord, just as in Italian quattrocento fresco painting and in the wall paintings of ancient Egypt. The group is symmetrically arranged about a vertical axis, the Buddha being seated on an elaborate throne with a high back, apparently of black and white ivory and curiously reminiscent of thrones found in North Italian painting of the late fifteenth century.

This type of throne may reflect an old Persian tradition, for Tha'alibi[2] describes the throne of Khusrau as constructed of teak and ivory. But the nearest existing parallels are to be seen in Indian bronzes. Far the most striking feature of this throne is the enrichment of the back and legs with fantastic and wholly unstructural carving. The legs appear to be of turned ivory, but of inappropriate thinness; above are Atlas figures, kneeling on one knee and holding up the throne with both arms and on a cushion which rests on their heads. Similar Atlas figures on the back corners of the seat support rampant lions, on the heads of which are perched another pair of human figures connected only precariously with the top of the throne by poles clasped by the trunks of elephant-head finials projecting from the back corners. Both material and design suggest India, but owing to the almost complete disappearance of early ivory work, existing parallels must be sought in the back slabs of Indian medieval sculpture and closest of all in one of the bronze figures from Kurkihar[1] where rampant lions grasp strings of pearls dropping from the mouth of a makara. The posts at the back of this throne are turned and could represent a wood or ivory structure.

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[1] Dr. A. von Le Coq, *Neue Bildwerke,* III–VII, 1933, Taf. D, and details in pls. 30 and 31.

[2] Cited by F. Saxl, op. cit., p. 103.

A further interesting association suggested by this enthroned figure is with the Byzantine ivory diptychs, such as the famous leaves of the Consul Anastasius, in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris, and the German State Museum, Berlin,[2] which date from A.D. 517. Here the scalloped top to the back of the throne finds its explanation as the shell-shaped niche behind the Consul's head; and there are striking similarities in the placing of the figure on the throne whose back in both cases comes as high as the level of the ears, while the relation of the feet, the footstool and the throne is also parallel. The Byzantine throne also has figures on either side, but these are human, holding scarves above their heads, a gesture appropriate to Victories. A connection among these three thrones seems to be implied. It has already been suggested that our Sui painting refers back to the throne of Khusrau. Is this same Persian throne of the Sasanians also behind the Indian bronze and the Byzantine ivory? It is quite possible, for the latter would be classed in any case as an orientalizing work.

This kind of elaborate Indian or Persian throne can also be seen in Central China, at Lung Mên, on the east side of the river in a cave of A.D. 695–705 where one is carved in low relief behind the central Buddha.[3]

Plate 30 Cave 404

A striking characteristic of the Sui paintings is the elegance of the drawing, refinement of pose, features and gestures, and the richness of the palette, not in depth but in range. Gold-leaf is used to pick out details and jewels are finely depicted. Just as they are used to enhance the contemporary gilt-bronze Buddha images, so they enrich the haloes of the Sui wall paintings.

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[1] *The Art of India and Pakistan*, no. 336, pl. 61, ninth century.

[2] Diehl, *Manuel de l'art byzantin*, I, 1927, p. 289, fig. 143; Riegl, *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*, Vienna, 1927, p. 224, fig. 55.

[3] S. Mizuno and T. Nagahiro, 1941, p. 121, fig. 114; also Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, 1923, pl. 462, another example from another cave in the east area at Lung Mên. This throne is clearly depicted in a line drawing reproduced in the *Special Report of the Institute of Art Research*, Tokyo, 1953; 'Designs found on the buildings and wall paintings of the main hall, Horyuji', p. 24, fig. 20.

Here is a detail from a group of subsidiary figures standing on one side of the principal image in Cave 404, to which a similar but not identical group corresponds on the opposite side. It has been chosen to show especially the jewelled halo, the delicate expression of the face, and the elegant hand of the Bodhisattva, holding a gold vase with a long neck. Incidentally this vase is framed by a pair of tendrils which enclose it just like a Sasanian palmette; and the whole arrangement and shape suggest Sasanian influence, which, as will be seen, was evidently especially strong at this time. The foot of the vase is wide and the stem narrow, while the egg-shaped body of it is perforated, and in it stand three lotus buds.

Corresponding to this figure on the left side of the niche is another Bodhisattva, equally elegant, wearing a diadem from which spring two long lotus sprays that stand outside the halo on either of the similar jewelled halo. Some T'ang grave figures have a comparable grace, but none can compare with these two paintings in ethereal lightness nor in absorbed detachment. These qualities are hardly to be found in the Sui dynasty Buddhist sculpture.

Plates 31A *and* 31B Cave 420

Manjuśrī and Vimalakīrti.

Many sixth-century examples of this subject in dated stone sculptures are reproduced by LeRoy Davidson in the *Lotus Sūtra*, pls. 9–10, who discusses the significance of this frequent representation in conjunction with images of the preaching of the Lotus, pp. 32–9. He explains that Vimalakīrti was introduced in this connection because he could be used to stand for the Chinese superior man (Chun-tzŭ). The earliest dated example of this conjunction is A.D. 428 on a bronze in Japan. In these early representations they are seated alone, but by about 550 (ib., pl. 15), they already have followers grouped around them.

LeRoy Davidson pointed out in a brilliant article[1] on the origin of the *ju-i* sceptre, that the common modern form with decorated panels in the middle and at the opposite end to the curve, originated only about the tenth/eleventh century. He attributes the form to Sung archaeologists mistaking the belt hooks excavated from Han tombs for early *ju-i*. Actually the original shape is well known from the fifth century onwards from carvings at Lung Mên and on Buddhist stelae, and in paintings at Tun-huang, where the 'developed' form does not occur before the tenth century. Original *ju-i* from the eighth century are preserved in the Shōsōin. It is in the fifth to eighth century a rather long flat wand with one end curved. It is of monastic origin, and should be identified with the staff *tan p'ing* held by Buddhist monks when preaching. It is of ultimate Indian provenance, and seems originally to have consisted of a tree branch held by the monk who was speaking in an assembly.

It became the special badge of the sage Vimalakīrti who came to be represented like a Chinese scholar. Here, however, he appears rather as an emaciated Indian sage than as the elderly Chinese gentleman with white beard of the later T'ang paintings.[1] His 'supporters' too, grouped round him inside his little pavilion, seem all to be monks, and most of them have haloes just like the supporters of the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī in the opposite pavilion. The latter, however, is seated on a backless throne. In front of Vimalakīrti's pavilion stands a great bowl, and five figures grouped round it are presumably the men of substance of Vaisali attracted by the sweet smell of the rice in this bowl. A special feature of this painting, apparently unique at Tun-huang, is the representation of ponds full of birds before each of the two pavilions. These ponds are full of lotus buds; but in addition Vimalakīrti's contains a palmette of Sasanian form. Behind each of the pavilions is a thick grove of trees, above which on Manjuśrī's side are two apsarases.

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[1] *Artibus Asiae*, 13, 1950, pp. 240–9.

The Vimalakīrti sūtra was translated into Chinese by Kumarajīva in A.D. 406. Early representations show these two figures of the Bodhisattva and the sick scholar alone; but already in the first half of the sixth century some sculptures showed many attendants.[2] For later still more elaborate renderings of this favourite subject see below, pl. 56.

This is a large cave, the greatest glory of which is the rich landscape composition painted on a white ground on the roof. It was difficult to photograph and for this reason a detail is here reproduced of the ceiling of Cave 419, which is in similar, though simpler style.

Plate 32 (*colour plate*). Sui dynasty (589–618) Cave 419

Detail from the roof painting over the entrance to the cave.

A composition in registers on white ground, in green and slate blue. On left centre is a burning house, with apparently another burning behind it. In the foreground a horseman is riding to the left, and another to the right. Centre right are the tigress and her cubs. The left part of this scene evidently illustrates the *Saddharma Pundarika*.[3]

The architecture of this painting agrees with that engraved on the Boston shrine of 529[4] and the scale of the figures is similar and not like the over-large figures on the Kansas city sarcophagos.

Sirén reproduces only copies from three Sui dynasty caves at Tun-huang (pls. 39-upper and 40) from T.H.I. 390 and 290. The copy from Cave 419 reproduced on pl. 41 is not referred to in the text, but is said in the caption to illustrate the story of Prince Sudhana.

The only known painting on silk of a landscape attributed to the Sui dynasty bears an inscription by Emperor Hui Tsung attributing it to Chan Tzü-ch'ien who worked between 570 and 590. It is reproduced by Sirén (III, pls. 79 and 80) and in the Chinese album (pl. IV). Sirén's judgment that it is nearer to the early T'ang landscape style is supported by the landscape elements in the early T'ang caves at Tun-huang.

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[1] Cf. A. Waley, *Paintings from Tun-huang*, p. 92.

[2] E.g., a stele of A.D. 527, *Eastern Art*, III, fig. 30, and another of A.D. 543 in the Metropolitan Museum, ib., fig. 29; O. Kummel, *Jorg Trübner zu Gedächtnis*, 1930, p. 122.

[3] Cf. J. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, pp. 85–6, but this example is from a ninth or tenth century cave.

[4] Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, III, pl. 22.

Plates 33A *and* 33B

Sui dynasty; Sasanian dress patterns painted on the draped clay figures.

Plate 33A Cave 420

Confronted pairs of phoenixes, in diamond frames with floral designs above and below, and rosettes at the junctions of the frames; painted on a close-fitting dress which falls diagonally from the left shoulder of a Bodhisattva to pass under the right arm.

Plate 33B Cave 427

On the skirt of the robe of a clay figure of Kwan-yin is a pattern in roundels framed by pearls. Inside each roundel is a horseman attacking a lioness.

This favourite Sasanian motif was imitated in Byzantine silk weaving, but only by single lions or affronted beasts, and always within pearl borders. Such patterns have been noted as decoration on the wooden beams at Hōryuji. It has been stated[1] that these patterns were copied from Chinese silks brought to Japan by missions to China, probably the seventh, in 671; and that it was only about this time that the Chinese began to manufacture silk imitations of Sasanian designs, which had long been popular there as importations from the West. However, the phoenix pattern in Cave 420, for all the Sasanian look of the diamond-shaped framework which can be paralleled in the relief decoration on a silver vase in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad,[2] cannot itself be matched in Persia. This vase shows in the strapwork other birds, eagle, pheasant, and the mythical Senmurv, with dog or wolf head and fore paws and bird's wings and tail-plumage—but no phoenix. Unknown in Persia, the phoenix is a specially common motif in Chinese art of the T'ang dynasty, as can be seen from the examples in various materials in the Shōsōin repository at Nara, dedicated in 756, especially on the mirrors both cast and inlaid, and the lacquerwork, but also on one silk weaving decorated with repeat pattern of striding phoenixes within circular frames.[3] This style is often called Sino-Sasanian.

The evidence of the Tun-huang caves suggests that this mixed style was formed earlier than T'ang, under the Sui dynasty (589–618). And the phoenix was certainly known in China as early as this, as can be seen in stone engraving on tombs[4] although more common under T'ang.[5] B. Gyllensvärd has pointed out[6] that the fully developed form of the phoenix is not found before T'ang. In the Sui example, here reproduced, it will be noticed that one row of the phoenixes is in the primitive stance, with feet together and head tucked in, while the next row is in the dance pose with one leg lifted and the head held high. The design seems to be transitional and may probably date from the early seventh century. The primitive type of phoenix is found in Northern Wei and even Han.[1]

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[1] *Special Report of the Institute of Art Research*, Tokyo, 1953; Ota Eizo, 'The Age of Brocade Patterns found in the Horyuji Murals'.

[2] J. Orbeli and C. Trever. *Orfèvrerie Sasanide*, Leningrad, 1935, pl. 40, which came from Baku, but had probably been found in Daghestan.

[3] *Shōsōin Gomotsu Zuroku*, vol. III, pl. 3.

[4] *Ko Dăi Chuang Shih Hua Wen Hsüan Chi*, Hsian, 1953, pl. 40.

[5] Wang Tzŭ-yün, *Select Corpus of Ancient Stone Engravings*, 1957, pl. 21 (3), on a lintel at Hsian dated 715.

[6] *Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities*, no. 29, Stockholm, 1957, 'T'ang Gold and Silver,' pp. 98–101, fig. 57.

Plate 34 Cave P.87

A.D. 585–617. Two Lokapāla.

The staring outline is probably due to oxidization rather than to repainting. The stance is statuesque, thus heralding the transition to the T'ang plastic style. But the armour is still of Central Asian type found in the Wei period paintings, with narrow horizontal bands of laminae, in contrast to the T'ang type with long laminae.[2] The left figure, Vaisravana, Regent of the North, holds a stūpa in his right hand.

Plate 35 Cave 314: P.137L

(Hsieh, no. 102.)

Roof of cave showing the Thousand Buddhas in the converging sides and a lotus in the centre of the false baldachino in a square, having Tāras in the four angles. The colouring is shown in a water colour to have a blue and white border on a chocolate ground, and the lotus to have red outer petals and blue inner with green seeds.

T'ang Dynasty

Plates 36A *and* 36B Cave 323

Early seventh century.

The composition is set in a wide landscape lightly sketched in blond colouring—green and a pinkish orange prevailing; but this is more a background for the figures, which are grouped in several scenes representing the traditional history of the introduction of Buddhism to China.

Near the top of the wall the Emperor Wu Ti is giving his instructions to Chang Ch'ien before he starts on his mission to the West. The inscription on the tablet between the two principal figures shows that the occasion was Chang Ch'ien's second mission. In 121 B.C. the Chinese general Ho Ch'ü-ping soundly defeated the Huns in western Kansu not far from Tun-huang. He captured forty thousand Huns and also a Golden Man, worshipped by some of the enemy. The Emperor Wu Ti wished to discover the true name of this image, says this inscription, and so sent Chang Ch'ien to the West to enquire for him. Actually this mission, which left China in 115 B.C., was sent to try to persuade the Wu-sun to attack the Huns in alliance with the Chinese. But Chang Ch'ien's name became, as early as the third century A.D., the centre of legends connecting him with the introduction of Buddhism. He had in sober fact opened up the West to the knowledge of China as a result of his famous mission of 138–125 B.C. and given them the first reports

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[1] *Ko Dai Chuang*, etc., pls. 32 and 27.

[2] Cf. L. Warner, *Buddhist Wall Paintings*, pl. XII, early tenth century.

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about India. But his name was even attached to an event which in legend at any rate took place one hundred and eighty years later, the mission sent to the West in A.D. 65 by the Emperor Ming Ti in search of a Golden Man which he had seen in a dream. It was this mission which brought back Kaśyapa Matanga to Loyang to translate the *sūtra of forty-two articles*.[1] It seems likely that the mention of Golden Man images in both these stories led to a confusion between them. Actually the scribe who wrote the tablet makes a further mistake in writing Chung Tsung as the Emperor's name instead of Shih Tsung which was Wu Ti's posthumous name. Chung Tsung is the posthumous name of the Emperor Hsüan Ti (ruled 73–49 B.C.).

In the painting Chang Ch'ien kneels holding his official tablet before his mouth. Behind him stand two riders holding furled flags and a groom with three horses. Unfortunately the painting is damaged by dark splashes just at this point. In the background is a temple building, perhaps containing the image of the Golden Man.

As Dr. Waley has explained in the preface, the second scene (pl. 36B), shows the story of T'an-yen and the Emperor in A.D. 586, a date which appears on this tablet and has apparently been taken to refer to the execution of the paintings in this cave. But this is of course not so. Stylistically it belongs to the seventh century and probably to the first half of it.

Both scenes are real conversation pieces, with psychological relationship between the figures.

Plate 37A. Seventh century — Cave 322

On one of the side walls of this early T'ang cave is a seated figure of the Buddha with groups of three Bodhisattvas on each side. The colouring is rich, for instance, in the haloes; and large flowers are falling through the air, as is usual in T'ang paradise pictures. The drapery folds are shaded. At this time the painters show themselves much interested in rendering transparency, either of drapery, or as here of glass. This is of a piece with the sculptural plasticity of the figures and their careful grouping in space. Here they not only overlap but also turn on different axes, so that each appears to occupy a definite position and also to stand in a clear relationship to the others. In this scheme the glass bowl held in the right hand of the right-hand figure holds an important place, and indeed can be seen as the focal point of the whole group. Clearly blown glass, with its defined volume and transparency, held a fascination for this age; and in fact it was probably a new product for seventh-century China. It may be worth remarking that glass vessels also appear prominently, and for the same reason, in paintings in Western Europe in the fifteenth century, at the time of the development of mathematical perspective.

A glass bowl of similar shape has actually been found in 1949, in a sixth-century tomb of the Fêng family in Ching-hsien, Hopei, and is now in the Peking Historical Museum.[2] It was found with a vase of Yüeh porcelain showing strong Sasanian influence, similar to one in the collection of Sir Herbert Ingram,[1] and may itself be an importation from the West.

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[1] See H. Maspero in *B.E.F.E.O.*, tome X, pp. 95–730.

[2] Reproduced by J. Harada in *Museum*, Tokyo, September 1957, p. 19.

In shape this glass bowl resembles a silver bowl in the Kempe collection[2] which has been compared with Sasanian silver bowls.[3]

Plate 37B. Seventh century. Cave 431: P.130

This detail is from an early T'ang addition to the original Wei painting of this cave. There is still little sign of landscape beyond bars of green wash standing for mountains, and the feathery trees shown in silhouette in the plate. In the upper part Queen Vaidehī is seen worshipping several manifestations of the Buddha (the labels are blank); while in the foreground her carriage and attendants seem to be waiting her return. This part has the character and charm of a genre scroll painting, with rhythm of movement in the figures which takes away all stiffness. The costumes are not very different from those of the Sui donors, and the colouring is still soft and blond. The ox on the right is as sympathetically drawn as in a Japanese scroll painting of the Yamato school.

Plate 38 Cave 220

Dated A.D. 642.

In 1944 the tenth-century paintings of this cave which had been reproduced by Pelliot as his Cave 64, were stripped from the walls to reveal a complete cycle of early T'ang painting. On the north wall an inscription was revealed giving the date A.D. 642. The main subject of the composition on this wall is a sequence of the Seven Buddhas who have lived in this world. They are shown standing on lotus pedestals beneath jewelled canopies which float, wind-blown, above their heads. Between the Buddhas are figures of one or two Bodhisattvas on a smaller scale. The detail from this composition (pl. 38) shows the Buddhas with lotus-shaped or rayed haloes, while the Bodhisattvas have jewelled haloes. The drapery hangs in ample folds, but retains that transparency which is characteristic of the century from Sui to early T'ang. Although monumental these figures are not static, and the sense of vitality is increased by the agitated tassels of the canopies, and above all by the four dancing apsarases whose long scarves form wide curves, as may be seen in the detail published by Dr. Sirén, pl. 64B. On either side of the dancers the orchestra is arranged.[4]

The figures on this wall are more weighty than those on the opposite side.[5] But this whole cave shows that by this date the full T'ang style was established. Highlights on the faces may reveal Indian influence, especially in the exaggeration of this highlighting of the Buddha images themselves. In any case the figures in this composition have weight and occupy definite positions in space, even if these seem to be sometimes cramped, as in the

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[1] B. Gray, *Early Chinese Pottery and Porcelain*, pl. 13.

[2] B. Gyllenswärd, *Catalogue*, no. 99.

[3] Smirnov, *Argenterie Orientale*, nos. 177 and 173.

[4] Our pl. 40, and *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 40.

[5] Dr. O. Sirén, pl. 64C; *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 39; and our details pls. 39, 41A.

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placing of the musicians (pl. 40). Behind the row of Buddhas is vegetation, leaves of the Bodhi tree and apparently bananas. This is quite different from the naturalistic foliage in the landscape scenes on either side of the main composition. So too the decorative coloured cloud bands which stream across the upper part[1] are extremely conventionalized.

Plates 39–41A Cave 220

Dated A.D. 642. (Shih Yai, no. 87; Hsieh, no. 270.)

The details chosen for reproduction from the wall paintings in this early T'ang cave are devoted to music and dance. As at the Chinese court from early times music implied dancing and no festival was conceivable without both, so with the T'ang an enlarged orchestra was supported by the court, drawing upon foreign talent and modes. In the present instances, however, the orchestra depicted as performing in the foreground of the two big paradise paintings seems to be entirely Chinese, so far as the instruments can be distinguished.

It may be that the left figure in the third row in pl. 39 is playing a small upright harp, the *k'ung-hou*, with its boat-shaped frame held horizontally in the crook of the left arm and the strings passing diagonally from it to the keys. Next to her the musician is playing the *kuan*, a vertical bamboo pipe with seven openings, the figure behind a mouth-organ and on the right probably clappers. In front are two drums, a transverse flute and a *p'i-p'a* or lute.

Pl. 41A completes the composition and shows eight musicians corresponding to the first eight. In the front row is a *p'i-p'a*, the *ch'in* or zither, a lithophone, a vertical harp and a wind instrument not clearly visible. Both groups are seated on large square carpets with borders on a stage, on a floor perhaps intended for inlaid marble. Between them are two apsarases dancing with scarves, each on a round mat. The stance implies the Indian style of dancing in which the dancer never moves from the same spot. All the musicians have haloes behind their heads, but this does not imply particular sanctity, though they are of course celestial performers.

In pl. 40 we have a close-up of a larger orchestra from the opposite wall of the cave. Here there are twelve players in six rows; and on the opposite side[2] there are again twelve musicians. This is by a different hand and perhaps a little later in date than the paradise paintings on the other wall. For the contours of the robes are stronger here, and there are high lights on some of the faces. The instruments are duplicated; there are now three drums on the right, two transverse pipes, two mouth-organs and two vertical pipes. The only different instrument introduced is the five-stringed lute or *yüeh-ch'in*. Behind the player of this beautiful mandolin is another kind of carillon either of bells or of sonorous stones on a stand.

The twenty-four musicians are seated on four square carpets with deep fringes, perhaps a Central Asian rather than a Chinese fashion.

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[1] Also in Cave 217; Dr. O. Sirén, pls. 57A and 57B.

[2] Shown in *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 40.

The colour plate shows not only the rich palette of the period, but also the masterly composition in depth. A row of vari-coloured facing slabs along the lower edge serves to throw back the main composition as if it were on a stage. This sense of the theatre is enhanced by the diagonally stressed lozenge pattern on the floor of the terrace behind the musicians. On either side of it are platforms decorated with painted rosettes similar to motifs appearing on many of the objects deposited in the Shōsōin. On the terrace are several birds, no doubt also dancing to the music, but serving to increase the sense of depth. Note the hawk in pl. 39 and pair of pigeons in pl. 41A.

On this wall there is a quiet rhythm of figures without weight arranged in free space; on the opposite wall a more dynamic relation of bodies conceived in the round and bending to the music in reciprocal movements of legs and hands. The composition is baroque, and perhaps shows a renewed wave of influence from India.

There is a date equivalent to A.D. 642 in this cave. Shih Yai gives two inscriptions with this date (p. 34, verso–35), but says that the first is not original, while the second is half-covered by a floral design and 'hard to discover'. It is no doubt for this reason that this dated inscription is not to be found in Hsieh's book. It is accepted by Sirén[1] as applying to the whole decoration of the cave of which he reproduces four plates (pls. 64, 64A–64C) with this date in the caption. The date A.D. 642 agrees with the style of the paintings in this cave and there is no reason to doubt it.

Plate 41B — Cave 445: P.120X

Late seventh century. (Hsieh, no. 223.)

Details showing nuns receiving their tonsure, from a Paradise of Maitreya in which he is shown as the next Buddha, converting the people of Ketumatī, beginning with King Śankha and Queen Śyāmavatī. Whether one of the figures here shown is the Queen it is impossible to say, for the three appear equal. But certainly there are many waiting women shown in the enclosure. Not only they, but the monk who is tonsuring the central lady, is wearing a patterned robe, which is surely uncanonical. The dress pattern is one with which we are familiar from the glazed pottery figures of ladies from the T'ang tombs. Both the flagons and basins in the foreground are evidently of metal and the prototypes of the pottery tomb wares. On the right before the adoring monks are tables on which are laid out the robes for the initiates. At the top can be seen the feet and knees of the last rows of attendant Bodhisattvas.

This Paradise is theologically a terrestrial one (see below p. 71 *note*) and is appropriately firmly disposed on the ground on which the figures are grouped coherently with an easy mastery. This was apparently the best moment for the art of Tun-huang.

Plates 42–5 — Cave 217: P.70

Early T'ang, about A.D. 660.[2] The *Amitāyus-dhyāna* sūtra. (Hsieh, no. 268.)

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[1] Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. I, London, 1956, p. 90.

[2] These wall-paintings have been attributed to the 8th century by Pelliot, Bachhofer and Soper.

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Plate 42

The central figure is Amitāyus, Lord of the Pure Land Paradise. The Buddha is seated enthroned surrounded by Bodhisattvas (the left half of the composition is mostly destroyed, as may be seen in Mrs. Vincent's pl. 27 and in Pelliot, pl. CXXXV). The detail is, however, of special interest for its portrayal of the principal incident in this sūtra, the visit of the Buddha Śākyamuni to the Queen Vaidehī who has been imprisoned by Ajātaśatru to prevent her from nourishing his father, King Bimbisara, in his prison. Śākyamuni at this time instructed the Queen in the sixteen meditations by which she might attain to the Paradise of Amitāyus. The figure of Śākyamuni in monk's dress is seen borne on a cloud which is an emanation from the seated Buddha, the timeless and essential Buddha, seen above surrounded by worshippers. Śākyamuni is met by the Queen, who stands at the door of the tower in which she is imprisoned. This is the only solid structure in the painting, and to situate it at a great distance from the Paradise, a long zig-zag road is shown receding behind the tower.

This is a powerful piece of structural composition for which the paintings of this Cave 217 are notable. The paradise scenes which occupy the main walls are organized in depth so that the various divine figures are disposed in an orderly, symmetrical and hieratic way around the principal Buddha figures.[1] The spatial arrangement is quite coherent, and as Dr. Bulling has suggested in her interesting articles, published in *Oriental Art*, reproduces the layout of T'ang monasteries. She actually uses the paintings from this cave as examples.[2] Certainly it would at least be agreed that the various elements shown in these paintings come from contemporary buildings. The viewpoint is not consistent, but why should it not shift? The foreground is seen from a higher angle than the middle distance; there are at least three distinct vanishing points in the central area. Most skilfully the horizon is closed by a group of buildings round a court towards which the visual axes of the other buildings are directed. This fan-like arrangement of the main lines creates a great space around the principal figure, so that although solidly based on a substantial lotus throne, he rises above and dominates all surrounding groups.

Plate 43

Cave 217: P.70

About A.D. 660.

The well-preserved colouring of this cave is similar to that in the dated Cave 220 of A.D. 642 from which it cannot be far distant in date.[3] Behind the big paradise scenes which cover the main area of the side walls, the surface is left bare above, while below is the deep indigo blue of water in the lakes over which the whole structure is built. The colouring of the figures is extremely rich, but some of the faces are only drawn and not coloured. The greater part of the south wall appears in *Sacred Oasis*, pls. 32–3 and in P. pls. 119–21. On either side of the central Paradise are coherent passages of landscape in

[1] See Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese Painting*, vol. III, 1956, pls. 58, 57A and 58A: Pelliot, pl. 123.

[2] *Oriental Art*, *N.S.*, I, (2), pls. 2 and 5, figs. 2 and 5.

[3] There is no strong stylistic change until after the Tibetan conquest. e.g. A painting on paper, dated 771 A.D. shows musicians grouped as in 642 A.D. (pls. 39–40). Otani, *Saüki Kōko Zufu*, 1915, pl. 32.

which the action to be described is taking place. This landscape is sparing in detail and confined to green washes for the hills with some orange touches, but less than in the succeeding period. Much of the background remains bare, as may be seen in the detail from the north wall reproduced in our colour plate. The whole of the right-hand composition appears in *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 33, in which the strong structural composition can be distinguished. In it can be seen the journey of a pilgrim[1] to the West. This is probably by the same hand as the 'battle' scene on the opposite wall. At the top are two scenes on the road. The main subject of our plate is the reception of the Chinese pilgrim by a royal personage. The architecture of the walled enclosure is entirely Chinese and the figure standing between two courtiers wears Chinese imperial dress: the courtiers hold the regular tablets (pl. 43). In the left background two monks are listening to a master expounding a sūtra which lies in the table before him. Unfortunately no inscription can be distinguished on any of the three tablets. To the right of this section, above, Mrs. Vincent's plate shows the construction of a stūpa, a substantial terraced building. This is shown on a much larger scale in pl. 59A of Dr. Sirén's *Chinese Painting*, vol. III, 1956.

Plate 44 Cave 217: P.70

The Buddha sees the Śākya performing military exercises (from the north wall).

Writing in 1923, Mr. Arthur Waley, on the advice of Pelliot, identified the subject of this painting as the fight for Buddha's relics outside the city of Kuśinagara with the armies of Kuśinagara and Magadha represented by the two rows of warriors and the two protagonists on the right side of the picture, the Governor of the city on horseback, and the King of Magadha, Ajataśatru, in Chinese official dress in the foreground.[2]

Mr. Waley, as he explains in his preface to this book, has changed his mind about this picture, and now considers that it may represent the young Śākyas exercising outside the city of Kapilavastu. 'Śākyamuni told the instructor to teach the arts of war to the young Śākyas, "I know them already," he says.'[3]

This is one of the best preserved and charming landscapes in the Tun-huang caves. Distance is admirably indicated by the perspective of the walled city and by horizontal bars of shading leading the eye by degrees to the ranges of the low green hills in the background. Bare trees near the city help to give scale and a sense of *plein air*. The diagonal path of the group moving out of the picture frame in the foreground shows especially a sure mastery of composition. By the mid-seventh century, landscape at Tun-huang is not at all primitive.

Plate 45 (*colour plate*) Cave 217: P.70

Vaulted roof with painted canopy and figures of the Thousand Buddhas on the sides. (*Sacred Oasis*, pl. 35.)

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[1] Identified by the T. H. Institute as Hsüan Tsang, but this is very early for him to be depicted.

[2] *An Introduction to Chinese Painting*, p. 124, pl. CVII.

[3] *Tripitaka*, III, p. 705.

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Plates 46A *and* 46B Cave 172: P.33

Early eighth century.

The details reproduced are the upper parts of the side scenes between which is a fully developed Paradise. In these side panels is painted the story of Queen Vaidehī; but the details have been chosen to show the treatment of landscape which appears as a background. Here instead of the slight suggestions of hills and trees of a hundred years earlier there is a coherent scene, with a fast flowing river between steep banks finding a tortuous course through mountain country which opens out in the foreground where the Queen is kneeling and looking towards the orb of the rising sun at the top of the painting on the left. Perspective is well understood and the trees, whether shown in full detail in the foreground, or in summary strokes in the background, are naturalistic, while the surface of the river is skilfully rendered in cursive drawing. The colouring too is still confined to green and pinkish orange, but variety of tone gives solidity to the hills. The conventions met with are those of early Japanese landscape and it is clear how great is the debt of the Tosa-Yamato painters to T'ang China for their vocabulary.

The detail from the left side strip is in drawing more sketchy, but the buildings of the palace of the Queen in the foreground are coherently related to the background which rises quickly to high peaks, between which a Buddha group is depicted. In the extreme foreground the Queen runs to escape her son's sword. On the right is a fine strip of T'ang decorative foliage. For the whole of this composition see Pelliot pl. 71, and see the further detail in pl. 64B below.

Plate 47 Cave 66: P.114

About A.D. 700. The meditations of Queen Vaidehī from the *Amitāyus-dhyāna* sūtra. (T.H.I., no. 66; Hsieh, no. 73.)

Amitābha Buddha appeared to Queen Vaidehī in prison and recommended to her sixteen subjects of meditation. In the Tun-huang caves there are a number of representations, (e.g., P. 33, 34, 70, 139A) also at Wan Fo Hsia,[1] of her engaged in these meditations in successive scenes or stations, in each of which she is seen kneeling before her subject.[2]

The detail shows six from a total of eighteen sections in this cave, one row of nine of which is visible in Pelliot's pl. 197. It is from the centre of the series with three further rows above and three below. At the top left is Amitāyus descending from the sky with the Bodhisattvas Mahāsthama and Avalokiteśvara, and on the right the Buddha Śākyamuni, attended by Ananda and Mahamaudgalyāyana. Below them are further visions of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and of a lotus enclosing (apparently) a Bodhisattva. Waley has pointed out (loc. cit.) that these series of side paintings of Queen Vaidehī's visions found at Tun-huang, do not follow the text of the sūtra itself but rather some commentary upon it, and that they are therefore not always easy to decipher.

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[1] Cf. L. Warner, *Buddhist Wall Paintings*, p. 20, pl. 27.

[2] On its popularity and significance see A. Waley, *Paintings from Tun-huang*, 1931, pp. 21 and 61.

The floral border on the right is a good example of T'ang dynasty decorative work, rich and exuberant, but always controlled.

Plate 48 Cave 334

About A.D. 700. An Attendant on Vimalakīrtī.

This detail has been chosen to show the brilliant colouring and crisp outlines of the painting in this cave. As a lay figure this girl presumably wears contemporary clothes and shows the type of beauty admired at the time. The lady presents a contrast with those of a hundred years earlier shown in the Sui Cave 375 illustrated above (pl. 28). There is now a natural waistline and fuller figure, though still far short of mid-eighth century beauty supposed to have been brought into fashion by Yang Kuei-fei (d. 756), and represented by the famous beauties under trees of the screen in the Shōsōin repository which is dated 752. The well-shaped face and mouth of our lady contrast with the very full chin and small nose of the later type which may have been inaugurated by Chang Hsüan and Chou Fang if we may judge by copies of later date (cf. Dr. O. Sirén, *Chinese painting*, vol. III, pls. 105–6, 108–9).

The closest parallel to our figure is to be found in some engraved slabs in the Hsian Museum, which came from a tomb dated A.D. 714 (cf. Wang Tzü-yün: Select corpus of Ancient Stone Engravings, Peking, 1957, no. 20, pls. 1–2). But the more sweeping dress and long sleeves may be a concession to the Buddhist subject, or may be a sign of high rank, while the figures in the tomb panels are probably servants.

Plate 49 Cave 194: P.51E

First half of the eighth century; T'ang.

Like pl. 56, this represents part of the procession of the supporters of Vimalakīrti when he met Manjuśrī. Here is a Central Asian figure of dignified appearance, his arms supported by two men servants similarly dressed with scarves draped across their bare shoulders. Behind is another trio of servants and ruler. This time he wears a white fur hat. All these figures are barefoot, and wear knee length skirts. Behind them is a group of eight or ten figures, in contrast to them wearing robes which cover even their feet completely. Their dress is far more Chinese, but the headgear is exotic.

As with the composition in pl. 56 this grouping seems to go back to some famous original. In Cave 52 is a replica of this group.[1] Judging from the conventional muscularity of the half-naked figures the original must have been in Central Asian, or perhaps we should say Indian, style.

A free copy of the figures in this group without the rest of the composition, is published in the Tun-huang Institute Portfolio, pl. 57, but the detail is not reliable. The wall above is damaged but some of the landscape remains and is in green and orange colouring as in 217, (pl. 43).

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[1] Reproduced by Professor P. Pelliot, pl. XCI.

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Plate 50 Cave 103: P.54

Early eighth century. The pilgrimage to India of Hsüan Tsang.

This is the top section of a strip of landscape beside the main composition on the south wall of this mid-T'ang cave. It is framed by a typical T'ang scroll design at the top and rosettes on the left side. The landscape is drawn with strong outline and is richly coloured in green and orange, forming a coherent picture of mountain ranges and peaks. Hsüan Tsang's procession is shown twice winding its way through the mountain passes. On his return from India in A.D. 643–4, King Harsha of Kanauj gave him a great elephant, a truly royal gift not usually given to Buddhist monks, as Arthur Waley has pointed out.[1] It travelled safely across the upper Indus in Kashmir and over the Hindukush to the Oxus but was drowned near Kashgar. Even in his lifetime Hsüan Tsang enjoyed an immense reputation and his story was immensely popular after his death in 664.

On the right of the section reproduced is depicted a large stūpa raised on a high platform base on which pious Buddhists are seen perambulating the central chamber which is the shape of the Aśoka stūpa but here shown with open arches instead of Buddha figures in niches.[2]

The four labels which were intended for descriptions of the scenes depicted are unfortunately blank, so the exact stage on the return journey cannot be identified.

Most of the mountain peaks are fringed with trees but the composition is much less conventionalized than it became in the later T'ang and Five Dynasties periods. It is drier in execution and less sensitive than the landscape drawing in Cave 323 of a hundred years earlier, but shows the existence of a developed school of landscape painting, for whom human figures are of less importance.

Plates 51–6 Cave 156: P.17 bis

Mid-ninth century. (T.H.I., no. 156; Hsieh, no. 300; Shih Yai, no. 63.)

The general iconographic scheme for the wall paintings in this cave is similar to that in several of the other Tun-huang caves, for instance nos. 8, 52, 63, 74, 81 and 117 in Pelliot's enumeration. This has already been pointed out by LeRoy Davidson who, before describing Cave 8 as typical of the group, observes that there is little stylistic change in painting in Tun-huang from the time of the re-conquest from the Tibetans in 848 until the end of the tenth century.[3] He attributes all these caves to the late ninth and tenth centuries and connects their iconography with the two sūtras, the *Saddharma Pundarika* (or Lotus) and the *Avatamsaka*.[4] He gives a diagram of the decoration of Cave 8, which would hold good also for Cave 156, except that there are long processional scenes in the friezes below the paradise compositions on the two side walls, while there are figures of donors in this position on the facing wall, on either side of the principal image, instead of the frieze of Bodhisattvas, which runs round the dado of Cave 8. These paintings are categorically labelled 'tenth century' in his plates.[1] The question is whether 156 is earlier, at least in part.

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[1] *Real Tripitaka*, p. 70.

[2] On the form of this stūpa in China see A. C. Soper in *Monumenta Serica*, IV (2), 1940, pp. 641 ff.

[3] *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, pp. 80 and 86–92.

[4] Ib., p. 87.

Hsieh has attributed the processional scenes, at least, to the period 848–60, immediately following the liberation of Tun-huang by Chang I-ch'ao. Arthur Waley, on the advice of Pelliot, had attributed these scenes to about 800, a date which turns out, now that much more is known of the history of Tun-huang, to be most improbable. But his reasons for preferring this dating are evident and retain their force. The style of the painting is that of the middle T'ang period, and the execution is so superior to that of the mechanical work of the tenth century, as to require either earlier attribution or some other explanation.

The reason for Hsieh's attribution is not difficult to appreciate, although he offers no explanation in his short historical survey prefixed to his descriptive list in the *Tun-huang i Chu Hsü Lu*. Hsieh himself has recorded two mid-ninth century dated inscriptions in the cave. It is true that these are not in the cella itself but outside in the passage of approach. There is a long historical inscription giving the story of the dedication of the caves and their subsequent history which is dated 865[2] and there are also dedications by Chang Huai-shên, the nephew of Chang I-ch'ao who held sway at Tun-huang from 867 to 868 and by Lady Sung, the wife or widow of Chang I-ch'ao himself. These inscriptions prove that the cave was formed and painted by the third quarter of the ninth century, and that it received the patronage of the Chang family, then the most powerful in Tun-huang.

The further step to identifying the long processional scenes so prominent in the inner cella of the cave as those of Chang I-ch'ao and his wife Lady Sung was not difficult. And this step may have been taken many years ago. For Shih Yai records an inscription on the lady's procession[3] which, as will be seen, identifies her as Lady Sung, while he also records the fragment of an inscription on the man's procession retaining the two characters for a title conferred on Chang I-ch'ao in 867. These two inscriptions were read by Pelliot but ignored by Hsieh, and they are probably much later than the paintings. The mid-ninth-century date for the processions is accepted by Sirén.

Nevertheless the style of this frieze links it with mid T'ang, the eighth century, rather than the ninth or tenth. Even allowing for the conservative character of painting at Tun-huang after the period of Tibetan rule and the Buddhist persecution of 843, which must have first isolated the place and then impoverished the whole Buddhist community, it is surprising to find so fresh and vigorous painting in this late period. The landscape elements are of an early type and differ from the small details of landscape introduced into the tenth century paradise pictures either on the walls or on silk paintings from Tun-huang (Stein and Pelliot collections). At the same time it must be admitted that there is

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[1] J. LeRoy Davidson, pls. 29–40; they correspond to Professor P. Pelliot, pls. XV–XXIV.

[2] Hsieh Chih-liu, pp. 401–2.

[3] Our pls. 51A and 53, and the note upon them.

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nothing strictly parallel to these two long processional pictures in all the Tun-huang paintings, either on wall or paper or silk. If, after the reconquest, it had been desired to celebrate the installation of Chang I-ch'ao, the painter would have been given a task quite different from the usual Buddhist picture. For once he would be unfettered by convention and able to paint from his own observation. The work is surprisingly good. Is it possible that it was executed by a metropolitan painter who might have found refuge in Tun-huang following the Buddhist persecution of 843–5? It is really impossible with our present slight knowledge of T'ang painting to say that this style, which appears typical of the eighth century, was not still current in the middle of the ninth century even in metropolitan China.

But if we accept this date for the processional frieze we are obliged to postulate the same date for the paradise pictures above.

Davidson himself admits the uniformity of style in paintings of this type at Tun-huang from 850–1000. He therefore cannot object if we attribute the whole decoration of Cave 156 to the mid-ninth century and regard it as the model for the later caves containing the same iconography, some of which are certainly from the last decades of the tenth century.

Sir Aurel Stein reproduces three general views of the decoration of this cave.[1] He gives a short and not wholly accurate description of these iconographical schemes,[2] mentioning paradise pictures in each side wall of the cella. In his fig. 229 the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī on his lion can be distinguished to the right of the main image of Maitreya; and Samantabhadra on the elephant was shown on the opposite side, as in Cave 21 bis (pls. 53–4). The greater part of the processions are reproduced by Pelliot who devotes three plates to each procession (pls. 44–6 and 47–9), which he describes as the cortèges of the donor and donatrix.[3]

Plate 52 (*colour plate*)

As can be seen in the general view published as fig. 232 of *Serindia*, the lowest register which runs all along the south wall of Cave 156 shows a procession. Our plate corresponding to the central part of Pelliot's pl. 44[4] shows some of the leading groups in the procession. With the exception of the dancers and musicians all the figures are on horse-back. The foremost party, riding in two horns of seven horsemen each, consists of ten men in armour, eight carrying lances with pennants and two large standards. Two men in the foreground seem to be blowing long straight trumpets. The next party consists of ten bowmen, five on each side with two separate wheeling in front of the dancers of whom here are eight in two files. Immediately behind them is the band of ten or a dozen musicians, playing a harp, *shêng* (pan-pipes), *p'i-p'a* (lute), big drum and little drum, and probably two flutes or pipes. Behind again are six more horsemen in two groups of three, all six carrying black banners. Although the horsemen seem to be advancing the musicians are clearly stationary, and it must therefore be supposed that the whole is a kind of musical ride.

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[1] Sir A. Stein, *Serindia*, Ch. XII, figs. 229, 230 and 232.

[2] Ib., p. 934.

[3] Dr. O. Sirén, reproduces four sections after water colours, *Chinese Painting*, vol. III, 1956, pls. 66 and 66B.

[4] Also A. Waley in *Introduction to Chinese Painting*, pl. XVI.

This colour plate shows the suggestion of landscape setting which had been quite invisible in Pelliot's photograph. There are delicate washes of green to indicate the ground, and on the left is a small group of trees, still, as in the Wei painting, with thin trunks but now with foliage more naturalistically rendered, and in better proportion to the men and horses. Moreover the composition is skilfully organized in depth in accordance with the early T'ang style, and on a consistent visual principle, although as in all Chinese painting the viewpoint is always immediately opposite the part depicted. The colour scheme is more sophisticated and varied than in the Wei paintings, but the most notable thing is the sense of free space and the rhythmic movement of horsemen and dancers which is conveyed. The dancers all lean forward and their raised arms and long sleeves which cover the hands and fall down accentuate their unified movement. The costume is Central Asian rather than Chinese and the horses are of the superior breed with small heads and delicate legs which the Chinese brought from Farghana. The standards with their five or seven tails are possibly of leather.

In the next section of the procession (Pelliot pl. 45) the dominant figure is about to cross a bridge near the centre. He and his horse are shown on a larger scale than the other figures which are scattered in much more open order than in the previous section, and moving more rapidly. There are indications of landscape in the background as on the opposite wall which can be more clearly distinguished in our colour plate. The last section (Pelliot pl. 46) shows a final group of horsemen with another banner with one tail and a yak's tail standard, as later carried by the Mongols, and also a fan of oval Chinese shape, as in our pl. 53.

The current identification of this scene in China is as the procession of Chang I-ch'ao rather than the cortège of the donor, as proposed by Pelliot. No donor's procession of this kind is known, and as has been stated, there are donors' pictures of the regular type in this cave. Chang I-ch'ao was of course a famous character in Tun-huang and his memory there was vivid enough for him to enjoy a cult. A temple was raised to his memory to the east of the town and he was a practising Buddhist employing a monk as his secretary.[1] There is a dedication in memory of him in Cave Pelliot 80.[2] As stated elsewhere there are remains of an inscription on this painting in which two characters *t'ung-chün* were copied by Shih Yai. This is a title of a special kind which was awarded to Chang I-ch'ao in 867.[3] But the inscription was not accepted as original by Pelliot or Hsieh, and may well be a later intelligent attribution, perhaps dating from the Yüan period when much work was done in the caves and Chang's memory was probably kept green by the recital of ballads

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[1] Paul Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, 1952, p. 252.

[2] Hsieh Chih-liu, no. 46, dated, naturally, 'after 872', the year of his death.

[3] See *New T'ang History*, 216*b*, fol. 9*a*.

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in which he would have figured. But the evidence is not yet to hand. Reasons have already been given for accepting a mid-ninth century date for this processional picture. If it does not represent Chang I-ch'ao, it probably illustrates some unknown *pien-wên*.

Plate 53

On the opposite wall, north wall, of Cave 156, is a second procession moving to meet the first. This has been entitled by Professor Paul Pelliot the 'Cortège of the Donatrix'. He devotes three plates (pls. 47–9) to reproducing the greater part of it. Here again the principal figures, both rider and horse, are on a larger scale. This time they come at almost the end of the procession, immediately preceded by eight men in two files carrying tablets, while in the middle between them walk three ladies with their hair dressed in the style typical of early T'ang China.[1] Then follows the principal lady on a grey horse in Chinese dress of subdued colour, suitable to an older lady. A single figure, apparently a monk, walks beside her horse. Then there follows a group of eight horsemen and her women. These men are all in Central Asian dress with pointed felt hats or round fur caps. Two of these horsemen carry fans of oval shape on staves, each of them showing a design of three purple flowering plants, either embroidered or woven. Behind is a large tree with trailing foliage like a willow; and on the right a second tree with large flat leaves, similar to those in one of the earlier paintings on silk in the Stein collection from Tun-huang in the British Museum,[2] and also at Wan Fo Hsia.[3] In the background are blue-green bars parallel with the horizon, and continuing right up to the top of the picture space. This mid T'ang landscape style, exemplified also in some of the decorative paintings on the famous painted silk screen found in the Tēji monastery and known as the Senzui byōbu. This is no earlier in actual date of execution than the latter part of the eleventh or twelfth century, but the subject depicted has been identified as the visit of the T'ang man of letters, official and poet Po Chü-i (772–846) to a hermit, and it preserves a good deal of the style of mid-T'ang painting. It is the earliest landscape screen preserved in Japan.

Above the central group is a cartouche carrying a twelve character inscription,[4] which reads: *Sung kuo Ho-nei chün fu jên Sung shih chu hsing t'u*. 'Picture of the procession of Mrs. Sung, Lady of the Ho-nei prefecture of the Sung state.' Lady Sung was the wife of Chang I-ch'ao. The final character *t'u* (picture) does not imply a dedication and is not part of the usual formula in such inscriptions. This is a reason for regarding the inscription as of later date. *Chün fu jên* was an honorary title conferred on the wives of distinguished people. Ho-nei in Honan, far from Kansu, was the lady's place of origin.

The forepart of this procession differs considerably from the donor's. There are no soldiers, and the dancers who go in front are disposed in a rough circle and are executing a turning dance of a vigorous kind, with knees bent and long sleeves flying. The band seems to consist of only six musicians, unless two other groups of three each, may also be players.

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[1] Cf. Sickman and A. C. Soper, pl. 69; Ashton and B. Gray, pl. 43A.

[2] E.g., no. 36, details reproduced by A. Waley, *Introduction to Chinese Painting*, pl. XX in colour, and by L. Binyon in *The Spirit of Man in Asian Art*, 1935, pl. 14.

[3] See L. Warner, pl. XXXVIII, etc.

[4] Shih Yai, pp. 15, 63.

Behind them we come to the section in the next plate.[1]

Plate 51A

A car and two palanquins.

The car is drawn by two men; each of the palanquins is carried by eight. In the foreground two horsemen are galloping. The grouping is more open here, and there is more room for landscape elements—in fact a large tree, apparently a weeping willow, can be made out beyond the car which had not been visible in Pelliot's plate. Near the foreground there are two or three flowering plants indicated on a much larger scale than that of the figures or the trees.

These processional scenes are the most modern and the most Chinese of the Tun-huang wall paintings. They give quite a good idea of Chinese scroll paintings on silk under the middle T'ang. They are conceived in depth and have a distinct rhythm as the spectator's eye passes along 'reading' the picture. The movement is complex, for parts of the procession seem to move more quickly than others, introducing a kind of musical quality, which finds its fuller development in the Five Dynasties period. The landscape elements are still decorative, hardly differing from those used to decorate lacquer boxes or musical instruments now in the Shōsōin. It is in the organization of the painting that the forward look is seen.

Plate 51B

This is the lower part of a large paradise painting on the south wall. As in other T'ang paintings of Bhaishajyagurū's Paradise the main subject is a great paradise scheme with the Buddha enthroned in the centre. In the foreground below are two dancers on the platform between eight musicians on either hand, while behind and above them are countless Bodhisattvas in serried ranks. In the border below are five separate scenes, in each of which a Buddha is seen enthroned, preaching. These are intended to illustrate the Twelve Great Vows of Bhaishajya.[2] There is an exaggerated perspective converging always not far behind the picture plane but with a shifting viewpoint.

Plate 54A

Also on the south wall is a second paradise picture, this time a Paradise of Śākyamuni, with below, scenes from the life of the Buddha.

This time there is only a single dancer on the platform between two groups, each of four musicians. In the foreground, scenes from the early life of Prince Siddhārtha, the

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[1] Hsiang Ta in *Mélanges sinologiques*, Centre d'études sinologiques de Pékin, 1951, pp. 6–7, has identified the Lady Sung as the wife of Chang I-ch'ao.

[2] Cf. A. Waley, *Catalogue*, pp. 64–9.

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Future Buddha. He sees the sick man, the old man, and the corpse, in spite of his father's precautions.

Plate 54B Cave 159: P.17 bis

Thousand-armed, thousand-eyed Avalokiteśvara.

Over the central alcove on the west wall is this large image of the Tantric form of Avalokiteśvara, not found before the beginning of the T'ang period. The Bodhisattva is the saviour from all perils and by means of the thousand eyes and hands can see all those in danger who cry for help and use the weapons which they hold to rescue them. The image is a kind of diagramatic representation of the resources which Avalokiteśvara can use to save those who call upon his name. There are also examples among the Stein paintings from Tun-huang in the British Museum. The hands with eyes in the palms from a double outer circle round the figure, which gives the impression of an aureole surrounding it. Stein no. 35 is the most important, showing forty arms complete with attributes. It has a general, but not close, resemblance with this painting in Cave 159, which is unfortunately damaged in a number of places, which now appear as white spots.

This subject for representation in painting and sculpture is included in the list of Buddhist work commissioned by Li T'ai pin at Tun-huang before 776 when it was engraved on the wall.[1]

Plate 55 Cave 159: P.17 bis

North wall.

Once more this is a detail from the lower part of a paradise picture. On the north wall there should be a Paradise of Maitreya, and this scene may represent the animal existence into which men may be reborn but for the saving grace.

The detail is not very distinct but there seems a general resemblance with the portion in Cave 130 reproduced by Pelliot in pl. 277 and by Matsumoto in pl. XXIA, where it is identified as illustrating the *Amitāyus-dyāna* sūtra.

Plate 56 Cave 159: P.17 bis

Also on the south wall is depicted the meeting of Manjuśrī with Vimalakīrti. In this detail Vimalakīrti is shown seated on a high platform under a canopy, while in front of him is an altar with offerings. He is easily recognized by the fan which he carries. Behind his throne are the four Lokapālas and in the foreground the usual procession of laymen in Central Asian costume, as found in many of the Tun-huang paintings. In front is a youthful figure in a long wrap-over coat and a tall mitre-like crown. Over his head is held a state umbrella. Behind are a dozen other figures, including two monks and a dignified old man with a full white beard.

Across the right upper corner is shown the double walled city of Vaisali from which the 'men of substance' headed by Candrachattra have issued, attracted by the perfumed rice brought to Vimalakīrti by his Bodhisattvas (here not shown). Above the canopy can be seen in a cloud the Paradise of Akshobhya, projected as a vision by Vimalakīrti. This is an unusually elaborate and complete rendering of this scene.

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[1] Chavannes in *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, XI (2), 1902, p. 263.

For others at Tun-huang see Matsumoto, pls. XLVI–L. Arthur Waley has remarked[1] that behind these versions may well be a masterpiece of Chinese painting by someone like Yên Li-pên (about A.D. 640–80), who is known to have treated this subject.

Plate 57 Cave 58: P.19 bis

Mid-T'ang period. Part of the mourners about the bed of the Buddha at the time of his Nirvāna. (T.H.I., no. 158; Hsieh, no. 301.)

The abandon and expressions of grief by the bystanders in this representation of the Nirvāna is in striking contrast with the quiet lamenting of the Wei group in Cave 295 reproduced already in pl. 27. The facial types are neither Indian (as in that cave) nor Chinese but Central Asiatic. The bell-shaped head-dress of the man cutting himself with knives in the foreground was apparently for centuries peculiar to the Central Asian Turks. Something like it occurs on Mamluk metalwork and in the fourteenth-century Persian miniatures. Some of the other exotic figures in this group can be seen in a view taken from another angle and reproduced by Pelliot, pl. 64, and by Matsumoto, pl. LXXXVIB. Although the subject is supposed to be the historical death of the Buddha, in the Mahāyānist Buddhism of the ninth century it is given a cosmic character. The body of the Buddha is now only an effigy in the full round lying on his bier. Immediately behind it is a row of Bodhisattvas, (Pelliot pls. 62, 63). The Buddha himself, one is left to feel, is a transcendant eternal figure of whom this is no more than a symbol. Its character as a Buddha effigy is even more obvious from the painted version of the subject in Cave 135, (Pelliot pl. 285). Here the figure of Śākyamuni is obviously a standing figure lying down. The drapery folds belong to the standing type. It is even provided with a large leaf-shaped vesica, just as it has as a standing figure. This of course serves to remove the Buddha from any purely earthly context. This change of attitude is characteristic of the fully developed Mahāyānist doctrine. But the exotic character here betrays the influence of Tantrism, or even of Tibetan involvement with devil worship from the old Bon animism. Plaited hair is the fashion of the Turks and later of the Mongols. The Tibetans on the contrary, except under Turkish influence, wore their hair loose on their backs.

Note

Cf., Demiéville, *Le Concile de Lhasa*, 1952, pp. 207–12, note 3. He quotes Harada to the effect that in Cave 84 we recognize Tibetans by their loose hair. This is presumably in the entourage of Vimalakīrti (Pelliot pl. 174; cf. our pl. 49). But actually these seem to be Turks and to wear plaited tresses. And Demiéville does not accept his conclusion but believes that the Tibetans wore plaits under T'ang.

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[1] *Introduction to Chinese Painting*, p. 124.

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Plates 58–61. Dated 892–4. Cave 196: P.63

In the Cave 196 as in eight other caves of late T'ang date[1] two pairs of figures are treated as complementary subjects. On either side of the altar niche and partly concealed by it, is the contest of the disciple of the Buddha Śāriputra and the heretic Raudrāksha, fought out, according to the sūtras, before a jury of the people of Śrāvastī. Here on the left of the altar is Śāriputra seated on a lotus throne in the shade of a tree. He is on a larger scale than his supporters behind him, led by Aśura holding up the disks of the sun and moon in either hand to throw light on the way. Several Bodhisattvas follow. In front of the throne are a number of miming figures, more clearly seen in the detail in pl. 59, in the centre of whom is a man seated drinking from a flask. The whole scene is repeated in all its principal particulars in a painting in Cave 8.[2] In the background, as is regularly drawn in paintings of this subject, a monk is striking a large bell with a wooden clapper to summon the audience.

There are, however, more indications of landscape in Cave 63. The whole ground is covered with vivid green streaks, as is clearly seen in the colour plate of the corresponding right-hand section of this group. In the detail (pl. 59) several varieties of small plants can be distinguished, all highly stylized. There seems to be a masterly composition behind the several versions of this scene but, by much copying, it has become diffuse and schematic. On the left side of the painting, at the top, Śāriputra is seated before the transcendant Buddha. This interview immediately before the contest is mentioned in a text published by Lo Chên- yü.[3] It is said to have taken place on the Vulture Peak where the Lotus sūtra was preached.

Below, Śāriputra is carried on a cloud past another Buddha figure to the place of combat where he appears accompanied by two Lokapālas and preceded by the Aśura holding sun and moon.

On either side are the King Elephant of the Himalayas and the Lion with the Golden Mane, also mentioned in the Lo Chên-yü manuscript.[4] These animals do not appear in the painting in Cave 8.

The history of this story of the contest of Raudrāksha and Śāriputra is fully discussed by Madame N. Vandier-Nicolas in her publication of an incomplete scroll from Tun-huang preserved in the Pelliot collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale (Chinois 4524). She published a facsimile of the sūtra, a translation of the text and a commentary, in 1954 under the title *Śāriputra et les Six Maitres d'erreur*. She finds that it rests on a well-established hagiographic tradition for which the classic written source is the *Vinaya* translated into Chinese in the early eighth century by Yi-ching. It is also referred to by Hsüan Tsang and in two sūtras current in China, of which, the one *Hsien-yü ching*, was of Khotanese origin. The

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[1] Cf. J. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, pp. 86–93, lists Caves 8, 74, 117, 17 bis, 52, 63 and 81.

[2] Professor P. Pelliot, pl. XXVI; J. LeRoy Davidson, *The Lotus Sūtra in Chinese Art*, pl. 35.

[3] N. Vandier-Nicolas, *Śariputrā et les Six Maîtres d'Erreur*, 1954, p. 11.

[4] Op. cit., p. 12.

Paris MS is in the form of a *pien-wên*,[1] a dramatic monologue, and follows the *Hsienyü-ching* more closely than any other source. For instance it mentions the drums which were beaten to call the people of Śrāvastī to an assembly, and a drum and bell figure prominently in each scene of the scroll. They are, incidentally, conspicuous in the Tun-huang wall paintings. But these only depict one of the six episodes of the contest, namely the destruction of the tree by storm. Apparently an inscription in Cave 8 refers to another of the contests, namely the bull and lion, and in the Cave 118P to a third between the dragon and garuda, but the incidents do not figure in Pelliot's plates of the paintings in these two caves.

The original name of Raudrāksha seems to have been Raktāksha (red eyes) and the Chinese rendering of the name in the sūtras has the same meaning. This, as Mme. Vandier-Nicolas points out, connects the combat with the canonical miracle of the Buddha himself at Śrāvastī, in which his Brahmin opponents call in a magician called Raktāksha. After this miracle the heretics are dispersed by a great storm raised by Panćika, general of the Yakshas.

Plate 60 (*colour plate*) Cave 196: P.63

Here Raudrāksha, seated on his throne, is meeting the full force of the storm raised by Śāriputra to destroy the miraculous tree which he has produced. There is no sign of the tree and all the followers of Raudrāksha are desperately trying to save their belongings and to prevent his canopy from being blown away. A ladder has been raised, a rope attached to the top of one of the poles supporting it and a small figure hoisted on the shoulders of another is about to throw a second rope over one of the others. Everything is in the utmost confusion. The detail in pl. 61A shows the fire-breathing demon evoked by Vaiśravāna, Guardian of the North, who is recognizable by the stūpa reliquary which he holds in his left hand. Alexander Soper has shown that this shape, single storied with flat roof and pinnacle between tall acroteria, represents the traditional shape of the 'Aśoka reliquary' believed to have been discovered at the foot of the mountains behind Ning-po in A.D. 281 (several other dates are given in different sources). The lady who is walking towards Vaiśravāna is no doubt the Goddess of the Earth, who is mentioned in this context in an inscription in Cave 8 cited by Mme. N. Vandier-Nicolas (p. 30) from a copy by Pelliot but at present unpublished. Although very similar in general, the version of the subject in Cave 8[2] does not seem to include these three figures. In the lower corners can be seen walled enclosures containing a temple or palace. These buildings presumably represent the city of Śrāvasti.

Plate 61B

The painting reproduced on this plate can just be distinguished in the background of Pelliot pl. 110 behind the altar.

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[1] It may well be that many of the paintings illustrate *pien-wên* rather than the scriptures themselves, but here, a great deal of further research is necessary. At least ninety Buddhist *pien-wên* survive.

[2] Cf. J. LeRoy Davidson, pl. 36; Professor P. Pelliot, pl. 27.

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As has already been pointed out the Cave 196 follows the same pattern as that of Cave 8. It is not therefore surprising to find a Paradise of Maitreya depicted with similar iconography. Here is a detail from the lower right side of the paradise, showing on the left the jewelled pagoda being demolished by Brahmans to whom it had been given by the Buddha immediately above it, and in front of the Buddha, seated in the part of the painting not reproduced, is an altar on which are set the Seven Precious Things (or some of them). The Maitreya sūtra is not fully illustrated as in the Wan Fo Hsia wall painting reproduced and described in great detail by Langdon Warner.[1] Waley says that it was King Śankha's throne which was given to Maitreya and by him to the Brahmans. But Warner calls it 'a small temple on wheels'. This description certainly fits the Wan Fo Hsia painting, but at Tun-huang in both Caves 63 and 8 and in the Stein banner the object is certainly a pagoda, though it stands on a platform with a deep flounce which might conceal wheels. In the texts it is described as a 'jewelled standard'.

The corresponding scene in Cave 8 is simpler.[2] It shows only a party of men and women on either side receiving tonsure and investiture as monks and nuns.

Here in Cave 196, however, in addition to the screened-off area in the foreground where tonsure is performed and the second area behind, before which offerings and robes lie on a long table, there is in the right-hand corner a hut-like pavilion set for a feast. Langdon Warner explains the similar scene in the Wan Fo Hsia wall painting (pl. XLIA) as illustration of the text, 'At this time the world was peaceful and there was no danger of robbers and thieves', because this legend appears beside a similar part of the Maitreya Paradise in the British Museum. Judging from the Stein painting XI mentioned above, it is King Śankha himself who is receiving tonsure in the enclosure. In each case just outside it, horses can be seen, on which some of his suite may have arrived with him. The Stein painting lacks any enclosure screens and the hut. In Cave 196 on the other hand the cartouches are blank, whereas there are numerous inscriptions on the banners translated by Mr. Waley. Below the main scene can be seen part of the frieze of large-scale Bodhisattvas.

Note

It was Matsumoto who first pointed out that these Paradises of Maitreya were not the Tushita heaven, in which he waits as Bodhisattva for his reincarnation as the Buddha of the Future, but the earthly paradise which will be seen in the world at that time when Maitreya will be born in the city of Ketumatī; and outside it will preach to and convert the myriad subjects of its King Śankha and Queen Śyāmvati, as well as the mother who is selected to bear him (see summary of this part of his book given by William Acker).[3]

[1] *Buddhist Wall Paintings*, 1938, pp. 21–7; cf. also Stein painting no. XI in the British Museum.

[2] Professor P. Pelliot, pl. XIX; Matsumoto, pl. XXXB; J. LeRoy Davidson, fig. 34.

[3] W. Acker: *Some T'ang and pre-T'ang texts on Chinese painting*, 1954, pp. 347–52. See also Bachhofer in *India Antiqua*, Leyden, 1947, pp. 5–7, though he does not actually quote Cave 196.

Plate 62 Cave 196: P.63

The donor's procession.

This composition is quite different from most of the donors' processions. There is nothing Central Asian about it—on the contrary, there is a sophisticated rhythm in the arrangement of the figures, which surely reflects an advanced metropolitan art. In front stands, on a square of carpet, a young Chinese official wearing the regulation hat with stiffened ends. Behind him at a certain distance, which is of special value in the composition, stands his 'secretary' holding a tray full of offerings. Behind him again, at a lesser interval, comes his military aide carrying a large bow, and behind him a file of three servants, one carrying a long-handled fan, and the second probably an incense burner. The cartouche on the extreme right in the form of a pillar seems never to have been inscribed, but the painting has been extensively defaced with casual sgraffito. The richly decorated ceiling and dado make an effective contrast with the advanced donor's procession which is freely composed in space in the manner of Han Kuang or Chou Wên-chü. The shadow which falls across this painting is cast by the T'ang veranda beams at the entrance to the cave.

Plates 63–6 Cave P.21 bis

About A.D. 900. (T.H.I., no. 159; Hsieh, no. 302.)

Cave 159 is another of the late T'ang caves laid out on the regular pattern discussed by Matsumoto and LeRoy Davidson. From this cave we reproduce Amitābha's Sukhāvatī Paradise. In elaboration it is mid-way between the extremely complex rendering in Cave 8 (Pelliot, pl. 18, Davidson, pl. 35) and the comparatively simple painting at Wan Fo Hsia (Warner, pl. XXIII).

Plate 64A

The central figure, Amitābha, is raised on a high throne under a canopy: on either side a Bodhisattva is seated enthroned with a five tier pagoda above his head. In front of the throne two apsarases execute a scarf dance. Below again a Buddha sits on either side with worshippers kneeling before altars. In the foreground is the Lotus Lake in which are new-born souls, and on the terrace in the centre two cranes dancing. At the back are clearly articulated palace buildings of Paradise. In the lower hall on either side a Buddha is seated in meditation. Another Buddha is descending on a cloud to the upper hall on the right. It is perhaps intended that Queen Vaidehī is imprisoned here, but that would be an unwarranted telescoping of what should be a separate side scene, with the main paradise picture. The perspective is skilfully organized to converge on a spot not far behind the principal figure. This is done by acutely diminishing the buildings right and left.

Plate 64B Cave 172: P.33

Eighth century. (Hsieh, no. 292.)

This is a detail from the lower left corner of the same large paradise composition of which the whole left side is reproduced by Pelliot (pl. 70) and of which the upper part is shown in plate 46B above. It represents the sixteen meditations of Queen Vaidehi, and serves to identify the whole subject as a Paradise of Amitābha. In the *Amitāyus-dhyāna* sūtra a prominent place is occupied by the story of the imprisonment of Queen Vaidehī by her son. She is there visited and comforted by Amitābha who recommends to her sixteen subjects for meditation. These include the lotus flower, which is the lowest in our illustrations, then occur two meditations on figures seated on raised pedestals but without haloes. Above that again are the red lotus and the tower; then the Bodhisattva Kwan-yin and other seated Bodhisattva. Before each the Queen is reverently kneeling on a square carpet. A similar treatment of the subject is illustrated by Langdon Warner from Wan Fo Hsia (pl. XXVII).

On the right, part of the main paradise picture can be seen, with the figure of a Buddha seated enthroned and surrounded by Bodhisattvas on a platform above the lake. From other representations we know that in front of him is an altar and a bridge leading to the central platform before the throne of Amitābha. The treatment is somewhat summary but much less fixed than the Wan Fo Hsia pictures.

Plates 65–6 Cave 159: P.21 bis

The mounted Bodhisattvas Samantabhadra and Manjuśrī are frequently represented at Tun-huang. Between them should be a representation of Śākyamuni. In Cave 159 the throne is now empty but may be assumed to have been occupied by this Buddha.

On the left (pl. 65) Samantabhadra is seated on a throne on the elephant which is led by an Indian. In front is another almost nude figure carrying above his head a great incense burner. The elephant is surrounded by apsarases playing musical instruments and Bodhisattvas bearing banners, umbrellas and fans. At the top is a frieze of the Seven Buddhas.

Manjuśrī on his lion (pl. 66) is similarly accompanied. In this representation the two great Bodhisattvas have only each a single pair of arms. Colouring and surging movement give these two compositions a rather lush feeling—verging on the sentimental; the finicky clouds round their feet, and the wisps at the top also contribute to this effect. They could hardly be earlier than the tenth century.

Plate 63 *(colour plate)*

In a raised recess[1] stands the principal sanctuary.[2] As already mentioned the central position is vacant. But there is no doubt that the throne with double vesica was once occupied by a figure of Śākyamuni. On either side are three clay figures, a monk, a Bodhisattva and a Lokapāla. These are Ming replacements of the original T'ang figures. Whether any parts of the original have been incorporated it is hard to say, but the painted vesica and dado are original. The latter is seen in colour in the plate.

Over the recess is a simple coved ceiling entirely covered with painting. Round the soffit are figures of Buddhas seated in meditation. In the spandrels at the corners are kneeling apsarases holding incense burners. The central area of the ceiling is covered with an all-over design of sexfoil rosettes in compartments. This is typical T'ang style of decoration, probably immediately imitating a textile similar to one preserved in the Shōsōin repository[1] and therefore rather old fashioned when this cave was decorated at the end of the T'ang period.

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[1] Mrs. I. V. Vincent, *Sacred Oasis*, pl. 42.

[2] *Tsunekaki Kō*, 1958, pl. 39.

Early Sung (A.D. 968–95)

Plates 67–8 Cave 61: P.117

A.D. 980–95. (Hsieh, no. 75.)

Cave 117 is notable especially for two reasons. It contains an extensive panorama view of Wu T'ai-shan, and it contains a dedication by the wife of the Military Governor of Tun-huang who is mentioned in the Sung history (see p. 76). So that the paintings can be dated within his term of office, which lasted from A.D. 980–1001.[2]

Plate 67A

This detail from Cave 61, dated 980–1001, shows one of the Guardian Kings from the squinches at the four corners on the roof of this cave, in which the iconography is closely similar to that in Cave 8, which has been analysed by LeRoy Davidson (op. cit.). According to the inscription this is Vaiśravāna, Guardian of the North. The Guardian Kings, originally introduced into the Buddhist repertory in the sixth century A.D., have passed from being warriors in armour to being shown as enthroned potentates holding court.

On the right of the Guardian in our illustration stands a man wearing the full-length scale armour of Central Asia. On his left an acolyte carries a Buddhist standard, and a monk stands with palms pressed in prayer. In the congested field allotted to the Guardian his throne and costume cannot easily be made out. On a banner behind is an eleven character inscription. Above the figure but separated from him by a braided ribbon can be seen part of the main area of the ceiling, which is completely covered with the Thousand Buddhas. Below on the wall of the right is shown part of Ketumatī city, from a painting of Maitreya preaching to the Buddha on earth. The treatment is both sumptuous and lively.

Plate 67B

Part of the panorama of Wu T'ai-shan showing pilgrims visiting shrines and temples. The whole of this extensive landscape is reproduced on a small scale by Pelliot (pls. 221–4). This is a detail on a large scale from his pl. 221.[3]

The largest building shown is labelled *Ta Wang tzŭ chih ssu*. The plan of it has been drawn out by Dr. A. Bulling,[4] where she describes it as a monastery comprising three buildings with the main hall standing opposite the entrance and with a pagoda of three

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[1] *Shōsōin Gomotsu Zuroku*, vol. III, pl. 5.

[2] The latest Chinese authorities state that it must be between 980 and 995; cf. Professor Demiéville, p. 377.

[3] See also his article in *B.E.F.E.O.*, VIII, p. 504.

[4] 'Buddhist Temples in the T'ang Period, (1)', in *Oriental Art*, *N.S.*, I, (2), p. 5, fig. 7.

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stories placed outside the wall. A little below this is a shrine, rectangular in plan and with broad eaves. On the left the zig-zag track (presumably intended to suggest the steeply winding mountain path) leads to the gate of another enclosure half hidden by a craggy peak. On the right in the foreground is a gate, inscribed: *Ho-tung Po-shan*. By the bridge in the upper left is a label inscribed: *Hua ch‘üan Hsien Tzŭ*. The mountains are heavily contoured with parallel folds, and two or three of the peaks are fringed with trees of several species. The foreground is closed by a regular chain of hills rising steeply in the right-hand corner. This is quite an advanced, if not very sensitive, piece of landscape.

Note

Wu T‘ai-shan

This was one of the principal monastic centres and pilgrimage places of China under the T‘ang dynasty. The ‘Five Terraces’ in beautiful and wild mountain country, difficult of access, in the province of Shansi, were established as a place of cult for the Bodhisattva Manjuśrī by the Emperor Hsiao Wen of the Northern Wei dynasty (A.D. 471–99). At the time of the visit of the Japanese monk Ennin in 840, the place was rich in legends, monastic establishments and works of art. But he visited it (in default of T‘ien T‘ai-shan in Chekiang, the headquarters of the Tendai sect, for which he failed to obtain the necessary travel permit from the Chinese officials), mainly to study and copy esoteric texts, and to obtain answers to a set of theological questions which he had brought with him from Japan. He also listened to lectures by learned abbots and was shown a copy of the Lotus sūtra in Sanskrit, the *Saddharma Pundarika* sūtra.

The landscape near Wu T‘ai-shan was much more spectacular than the rolling, dune country of the Tun-huang panorama. Ennin writes of the ‘summits soaring high, devoid of trees’, and below the terrace a ‘thousand fathom precipice’ and ‘the ice of a thousand years lies in those shady depths’. In the painting, only the thick sprinkling of monasteries, pagodas and shrines corresponds to the reality of Wu T‘ai-shan at this period with the parties of monks and pilgrims going from one to another to pay their ritual visits. In fact the whole area of the monastic settlement was some twenty-four miles from end to end.

Ennin recalls seeing here images of the Five Buddhas, each between two Bodhisattvas, reputed to have been installed there by the apostle of esoteric Buddhism Amoghavajra, in the style of Nālanda, the great Buddhist university centre of Northern India. They were set up on a wooden platform, and were therefore presumably made of stucco. Pilgrims from Nālanda were still reaching Wu T‘ai-shan in his time. Ennin himself was thus able to obtain not only copies of the sūtras but also paintings of the elaborate *mandalas* of esoteric Buddhism, which were sold at a high price.

On his visit see O. Reischauer's translation of Ennin's diary and commentary on it.

Cave 61: P.117

Plate 68 (*colour plate*)

A.D. 980–1001. The donor's portrait.

Nearly all round the walls of this cave is painted a procession of ladies, but they are preceded by monks.

The part reproduced shows the principal figure. An inscribed banner beside her informs us of her identity. It reads (in Chavannes' translation) 'The celestial princess who has the family name Li and who is the third daughter of the great being, emperor by divine decree of the great kingdom of Yü t'ien (Khotan), made this offering, she being the wife of the recently appointed Great Preceptor, Ts'ao Yen-lu'. From the *Sung-Shih* (Sung history) it is known that Ts'ao Yen-lu was military governor of Tun-huang from A.D. 980 to A.D. 1001. The King of Khotan in 942 was named Li Sheng t'ien, and this is likely to be his daughter. The Ts'ao family were virtual rulers of Tun-huang from the end of the T'ang period until early Sung.

This hieratic procession of donors, so reminiscent of the mosaic figure of the Empress Theodora and her suite at Ravenna, in San Vitale, is far more Central Asian than Chinese. It recalls the rows of Turkish and Uighur donors of Turfan, in stance and rigid draperies. Each of the ladies holds with both hands a dish or cup with some sort of offering. Unfortunately already at the time of Pelliot's visit the lower part of these figures had fallen from the wall. But the rouged cheeks and beauty spots remain to tell of the sophisticated life still led at Tun-huang in this period of change.

Plate 69 Cave 454: P.119

Second half of the tenth century. Portrait of a princely donor, Ts'ao Yen-lu. (Hsieh, no. 228.)

Hsieh[1] records that seven donors are depicted on the wall of this cave. The figure here reproduced is the sixth and is one of the three to which inscriptions are attached. It is incomplete but Hsieh has transcribed thirty-two characters, which is considerably more than can be read from the photograph reproduced. His text may be translated: 'The younger brother, recently appointed by Imperial Decree Commander of the Kuei-i army . . . concurrently Grand Guardian and *K'ai-kuo Kung* of the commandery of Ch'ao, enjoying a nominal fief of five hundred households, with actual fief of three hundred households, Yen-lu . . .'. Hsieh shows four characters undeciphered at the end and four in the middle of this inscription.

Kuei-i was a military district, established in A.D. 851 for the territory of Tun-huang, after Chang I-ch'ao had brought it back inside the Chinese Empire, probably in 848, after Tibetan domination had lasted since 787. Chang himself received the title of *Chieh-tu-shih*[2] or military governor, and he and his family remained almost independent rulers in Tun-huang until about 910.

The title of Ch'iao-chün K'ai-kuo[3] has been found in a document from Tun-huang (S 518 at the British Museum) as a style of Ts'ao Yüan-chung (ruled 946–74) which is dated 949; while on a woodcut of two years earlier in the Stein collection[1] he is called simply of 'Ch'iao chün'. In 1001 Ts'ao Yen-lu, his younger son, is styled Ch'iao-chün Wang, or *Prince* of Ch'iao chün. The fief of Ch'iao-chün was in Central China, in An-hui, and provided a permanent hereditary revenue for these Marcher lords of the Ts'ao family, at least in theory. The titles may well have been self conferred and not necessarily approved or accepted by the central government, so that they would not necessarily be found in the official histories. This is particularly true in the disturbed period of the Five Dynasties (907–60).

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[1] Opp. cit., p. 304–5.

[2] On this title see R. des Rotours, 'Les grands fonctionnaires des provinces en Chine sous la dyanastie des T'ang, in *T'oung Pao*, T. 25, 1927, pp. 286–332. The position was created in 710 or 711 for the Governor of Ho-hsi which included Tun-huang. But Chang I-ch'ao and his successors in the Kuei-i command had much smaller jurisdiction.

[3] See L. Giles, 'A Topographical Fragment from Tun-huang', in *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. VII, (3), 1934, pp. 563 and 571, and vol. XI (1), 1943, p. 149–50.

The donor, Yen-lu, is of course this same Ts'ao Yen-lu, hereditary ruler of Tun-huang. He received the title *Chieh-tu-shih* (military governor or commander) of Kuei-i from the Sung court in 980. In 1001 he is called Ch'iao-chün Wang (Prince of Ch'iao) as we have seen. Here his style is *K'ai-kuo Kung*, which is a lower rank. *Kung* is equivalent to Duke and *K'ai-kuo* (literally 'founder of domain') had been prefixed to all honorary titles of this kind in China from the fourth century A.D. and the usage continued until the thirteenth century.[2]

Beside the fifth donor also is an inscription with the name of Yen-kung, elder brother of Ts'ao Yen-lu. He is described as *Kuei-i chün Chieh-tu Kua-sha têng chou*, a title which L. Giles says was conferred upon his father Ts'ao Yüan-chüng in 949.[3]

The fourth donor is Ts'ao Yüan-chüng himself, who is given the title prince (*Wang*) as well as *Chieh-tu-shih*. These portraits may be posthumous. Yüan-chüng died in 980, after abdicating in 974.

It therefore seems most likely that these donors' portraits date from about 980 and were in fact painted to the order of Ts'ao Yen-lu. Unfortunately they have suffered considerable damage, as can be seen in the reproduction; in addition the heads have been redrawn probably as recently as the Ch'ing dynasty.

The stiffened hat bands represent a fashion which gradually spread downwards in the Chinese hierarchy from the Emperor until in the late T'ang period high officials also stiffened the formerly pendant ribbons.

Similar donor portraits with ornamental cartouches of similar shape are found in the entrance to Cave 5 at Wan Fo Hsia[4] and in Cave 52 at Tun-huang (Pelliot pl. 85).

The title Chien Hsiao T'ai Pao may be translated Acting Grand Guardian. The title T'ai Pao was that of one of the three great officers of state under Chou and Han but was easily conferred under the T'ang.[5] Chien Hsiao means 'exercising the function' and so acting rank. The holder of such titles seems actually to have possessed executive powers; but no instance of this particular rank is cited by des Rotours in his two books *Le Traité des Fonctionnaires* and *Le Traité des Examens* which are based upon portions of the New T'ang History (*Hsin-T'ang-shu*), chapters 46–50 and 44–5.

[1] P. 8; L. Binyon, no. 14, dated 947.

[2] See R. des Rotours, *Le Traité des Fonctionnaires*, I, 1947, p. 43.

[3] 'Topographical Fragment from Tun-huang', pp. 569–70.

[4] L. Warner, p. 12, pl. VII, dated ninth century.

[5] See R. des Rotours, *Le Traité des Fonctionnaires*, I, pp. 19–20.

Five Dynasties

Plate 70 Cave 97

A.D. 907–60.

Round the walls of this small cave are painted in two rows a set of the Sixteen Arhats. They are rather roughly drawn by an artisan painter, like so much of the work of this time. But they are of considerable interest as early evidence of Arhat painting at a time when it was much in vogue. The most famous specialist in this subject was Kuan-hsiu (d. 912), and several series surviving in Japan are traditionally attributed to his hand. Of these the most impressive are a set in the Imperial Household Museum, Tokyo, of which two are reproduced by Dr. Sirén.[1] The Tun-huang series are distant cousins of these and their early date helps to support the attribution of the Tokyo series. Even these artisan versions have considerable power and the deep eyes look out from the heavy brows with great intensity.

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[1] *Chinese Painting*, 1957, pls. 114–15.

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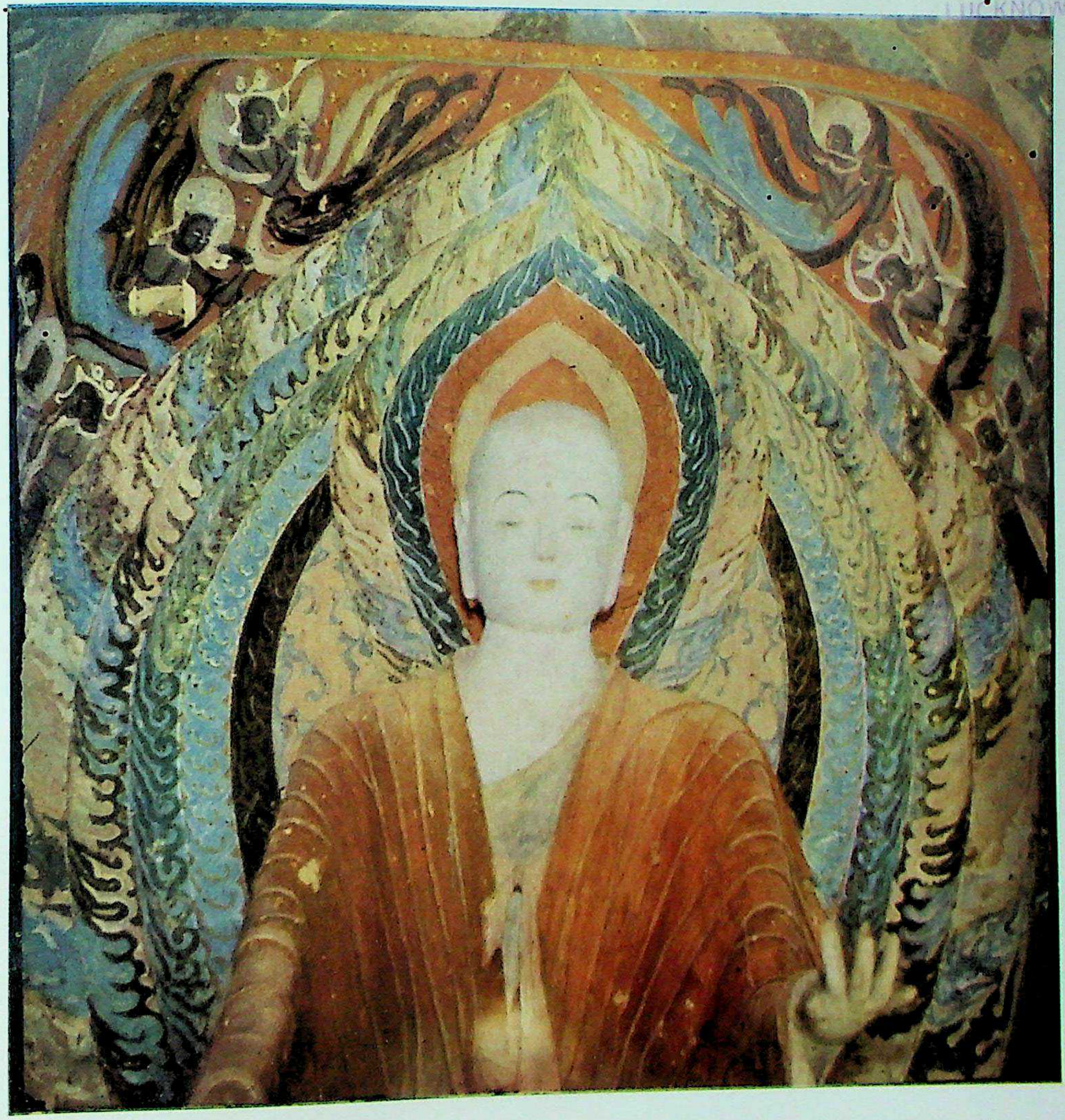
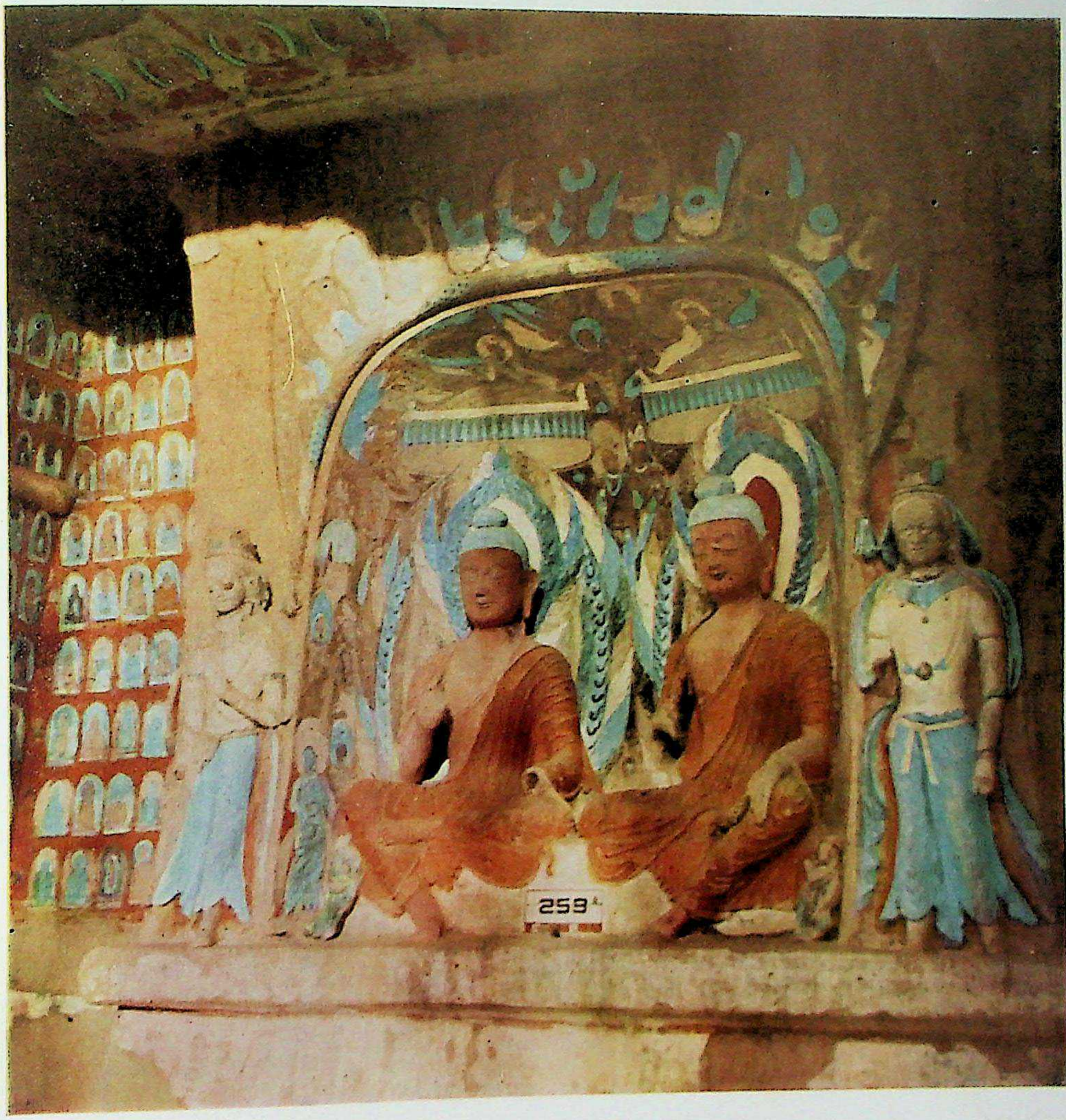
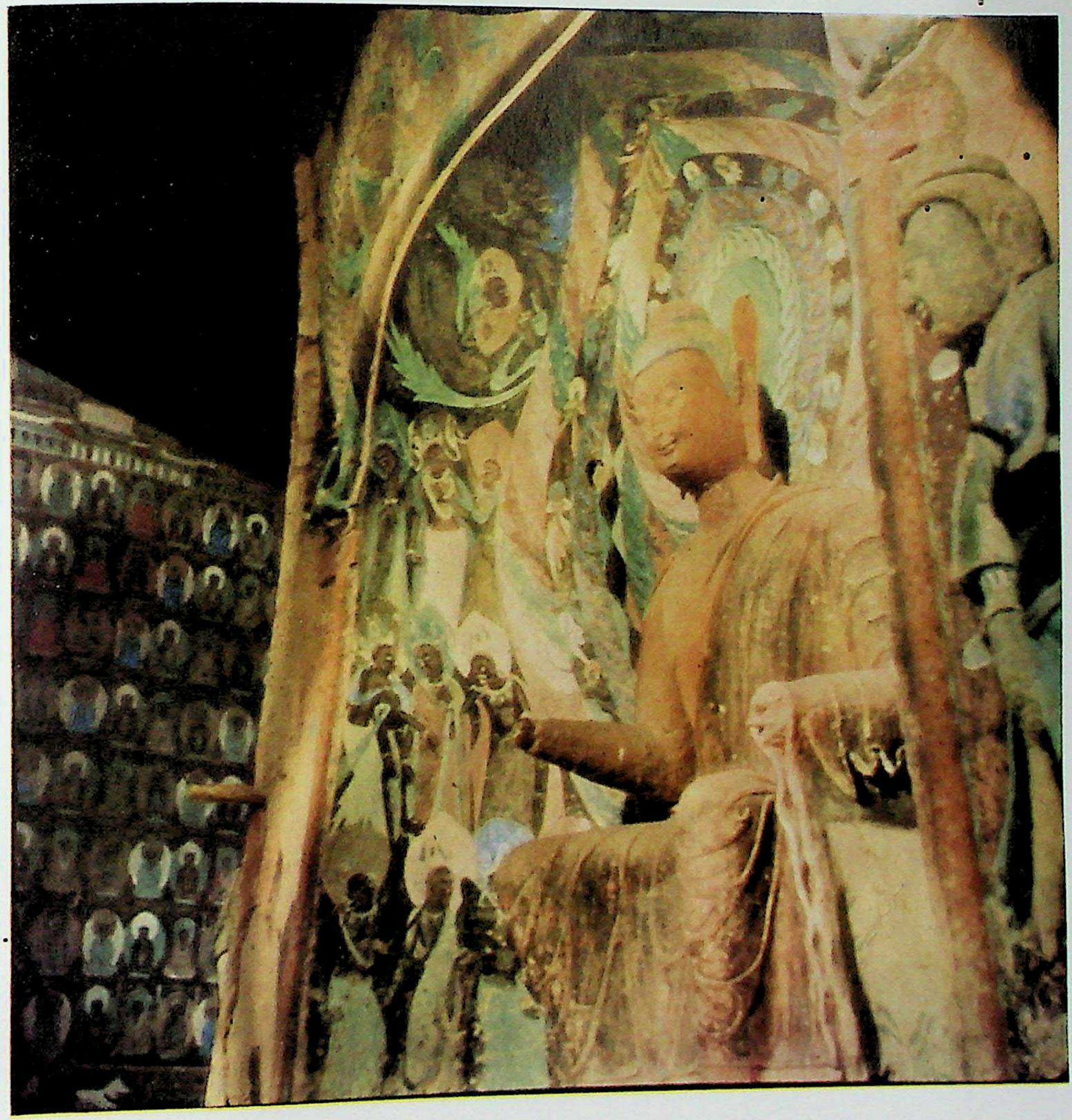


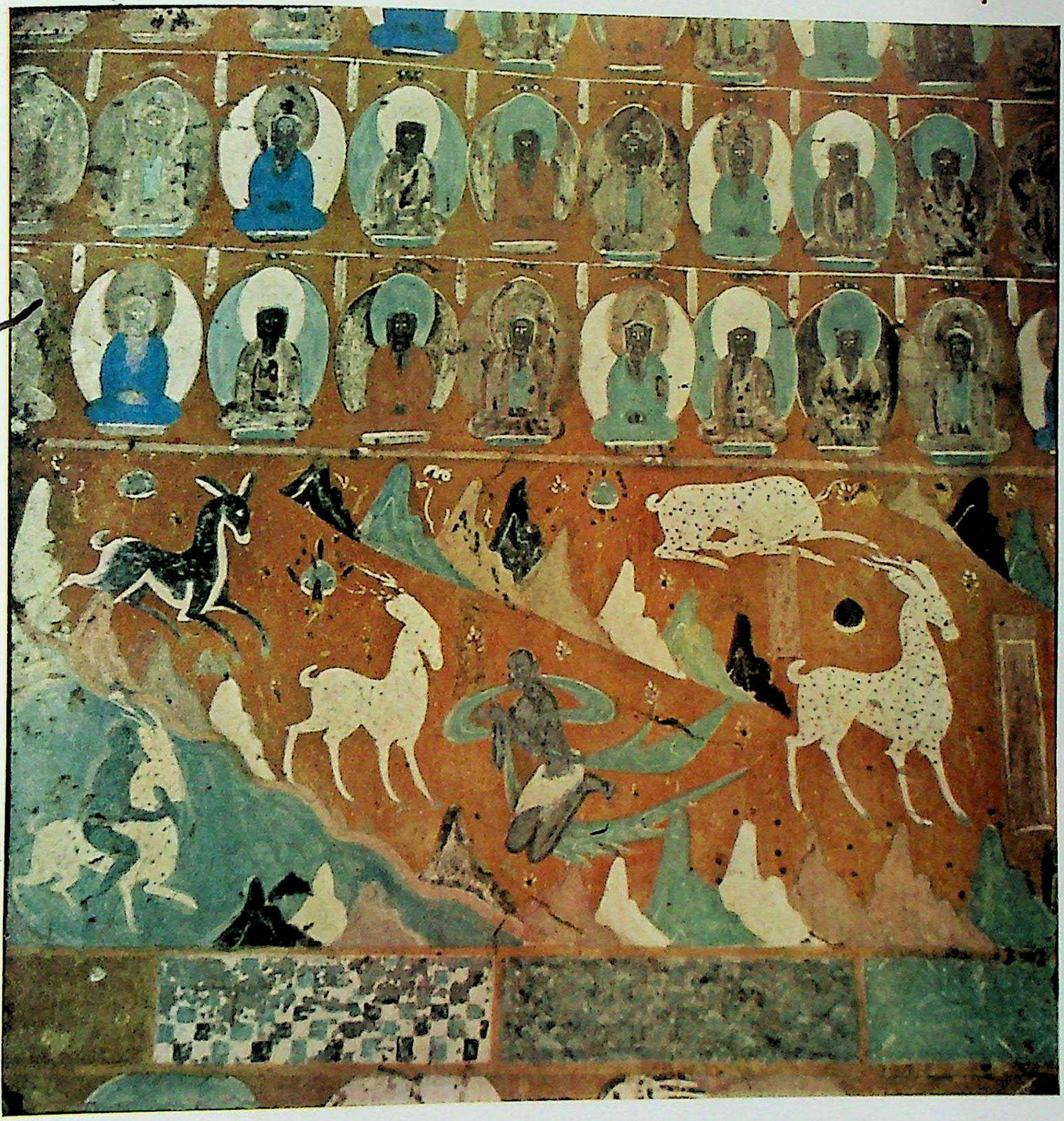
1. Detail from a seated figure of Maitreya
Early sixth century. Cave 249; P.101



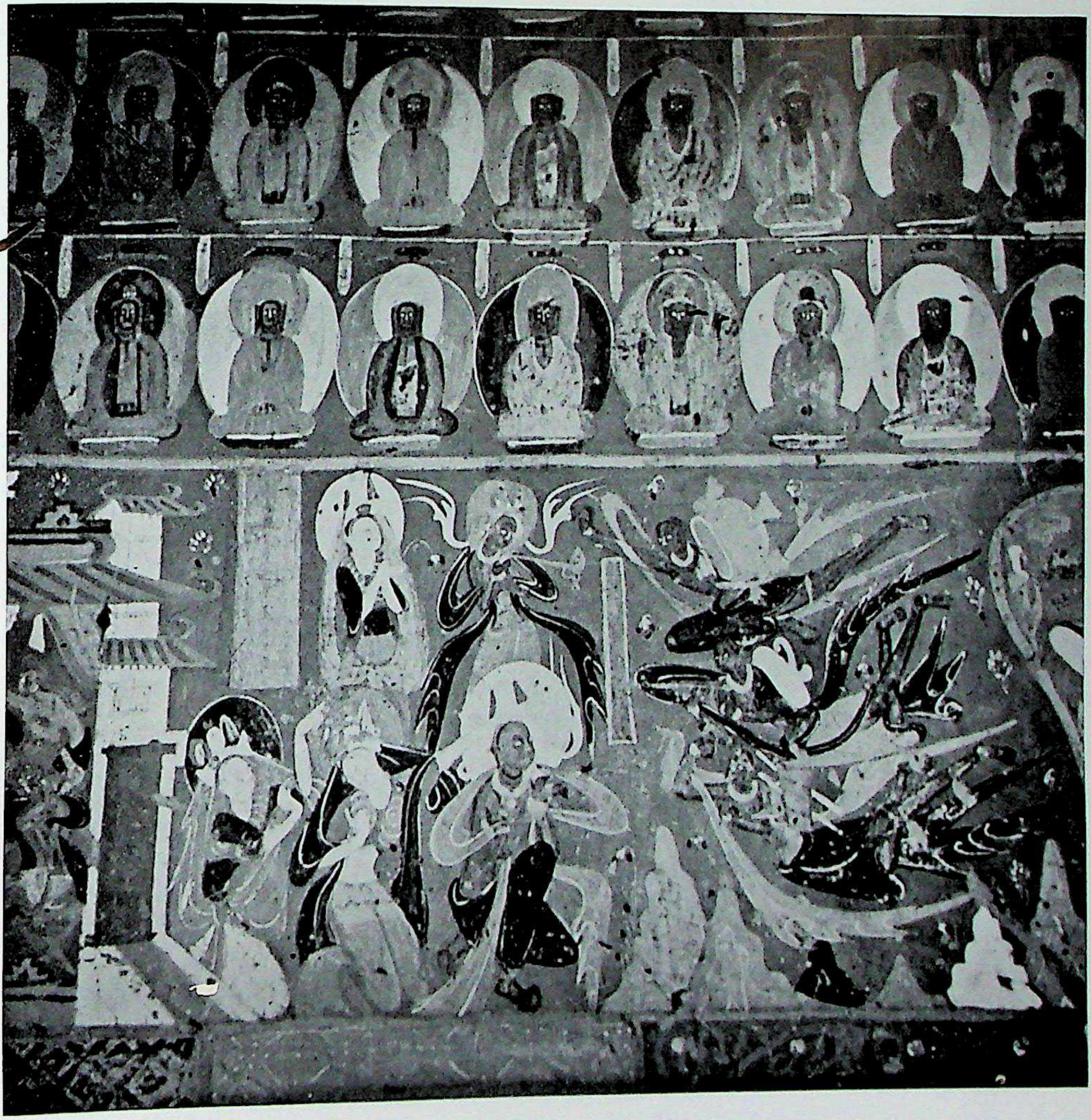
2. Prabhutaratna and Śākyamuni Buddhas
Late fifth or early sixth century A.D. Cave 259; P.111



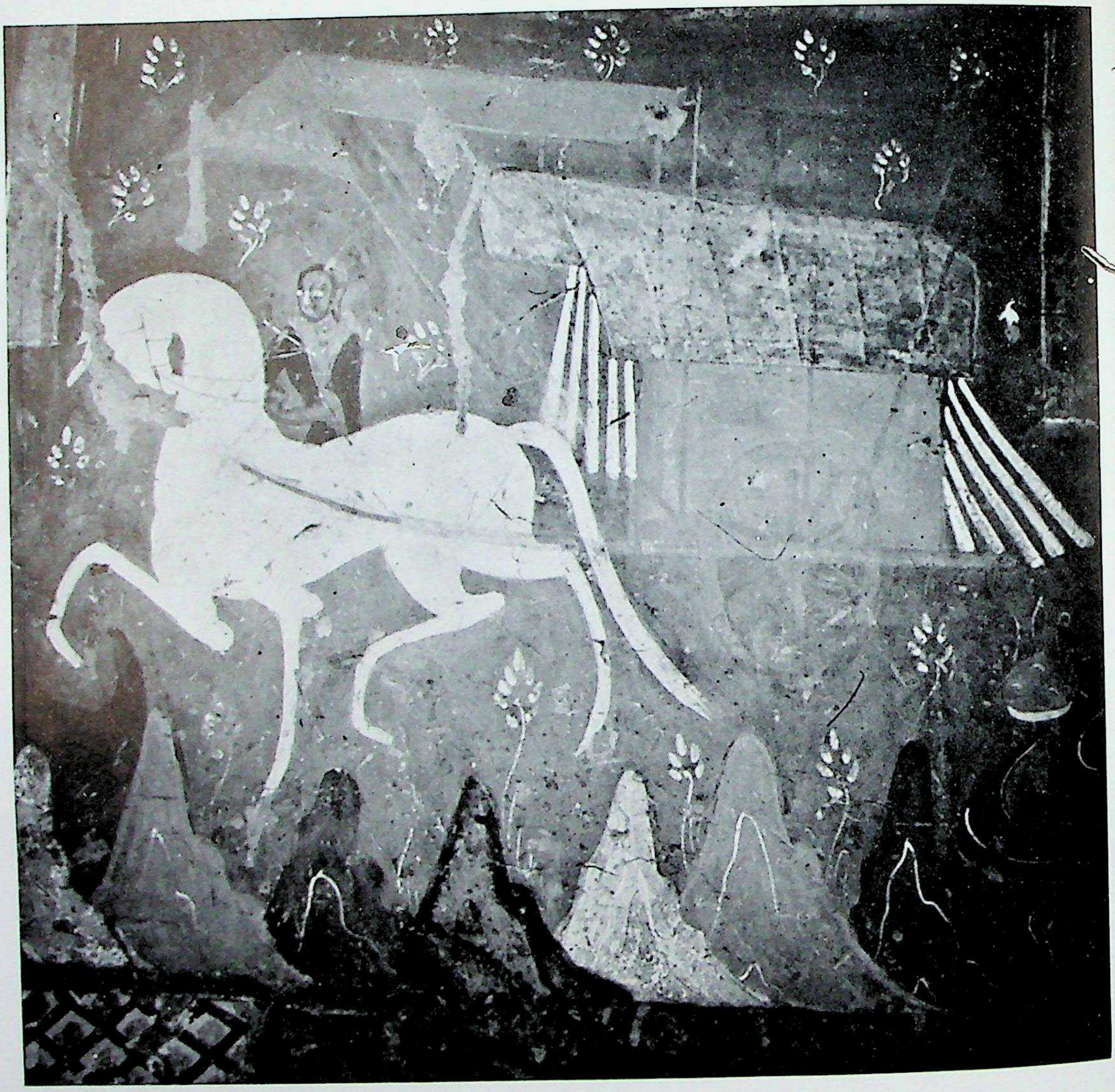
3. Seated figure of Maitreya in a deep niche
About A.D. 500. Cave 257; P.110



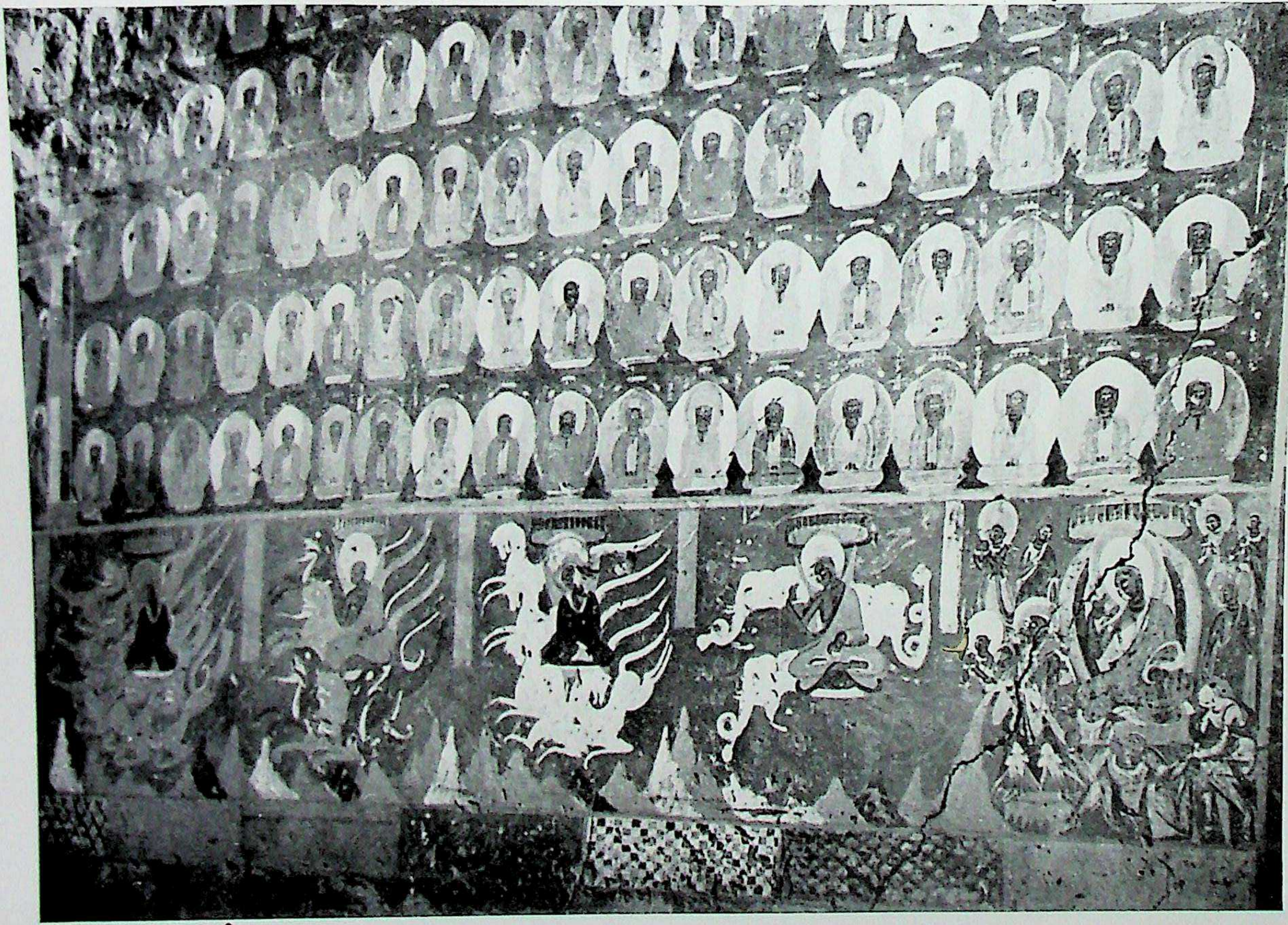
4. The Deer rescues the King of Benares who afterwards kneels to thank him
About A.D. 500. Cave 257; P.110



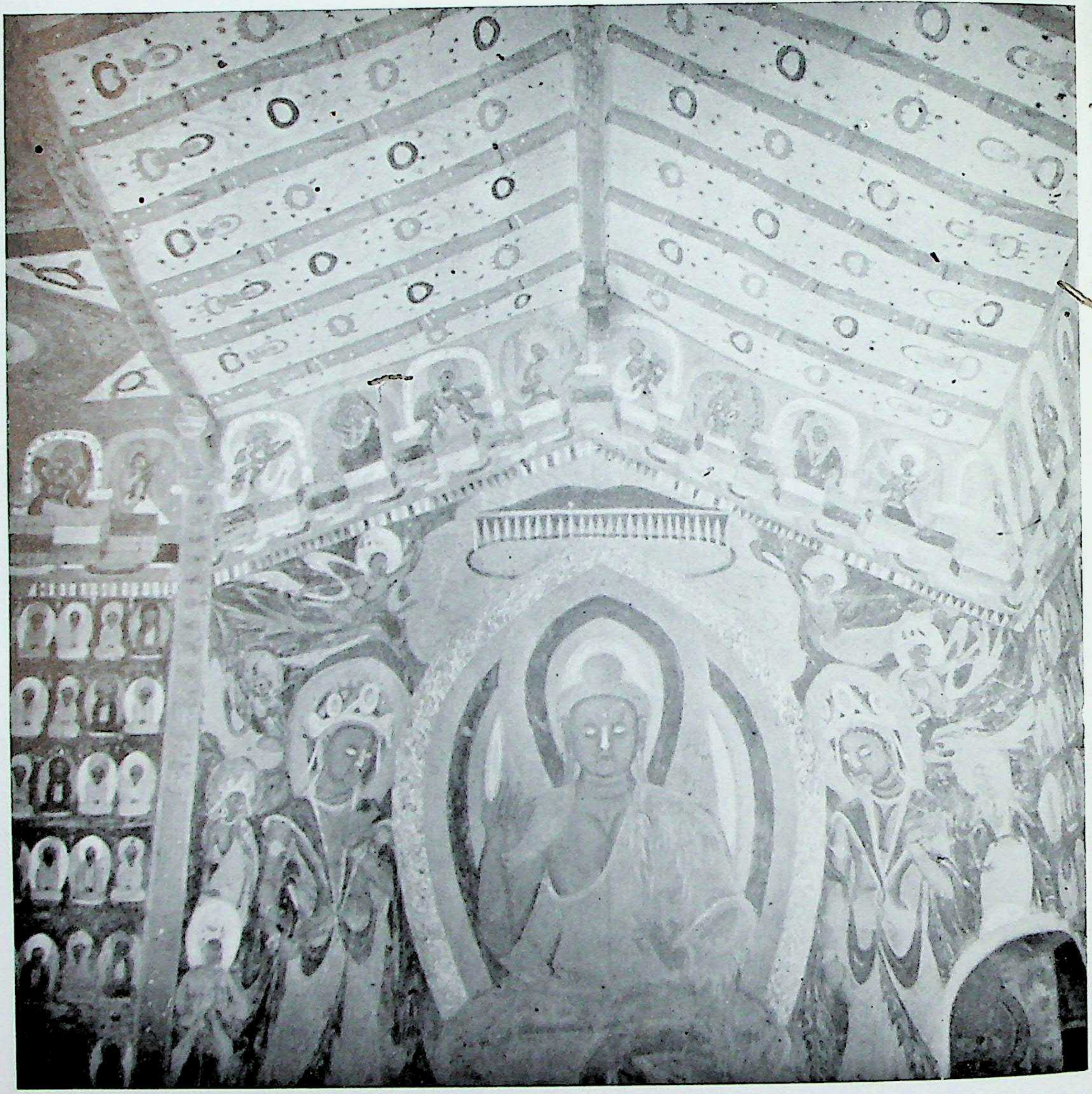
5. Jātaka Story of the Deer
About A.D. 500. Cave 257; P.110



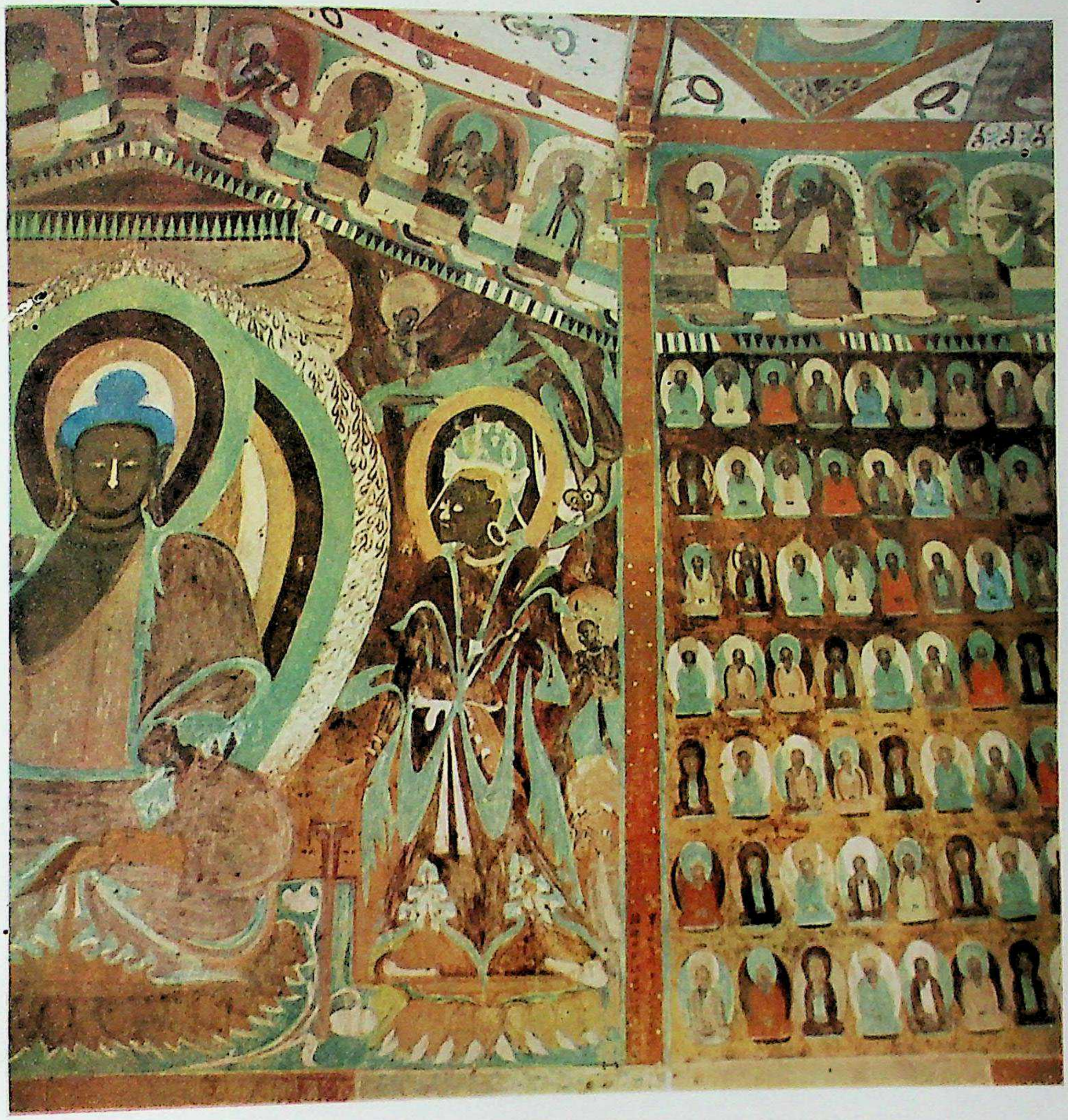
6. Detail of a carriage
About A.D. 500. Cave 257; P.110



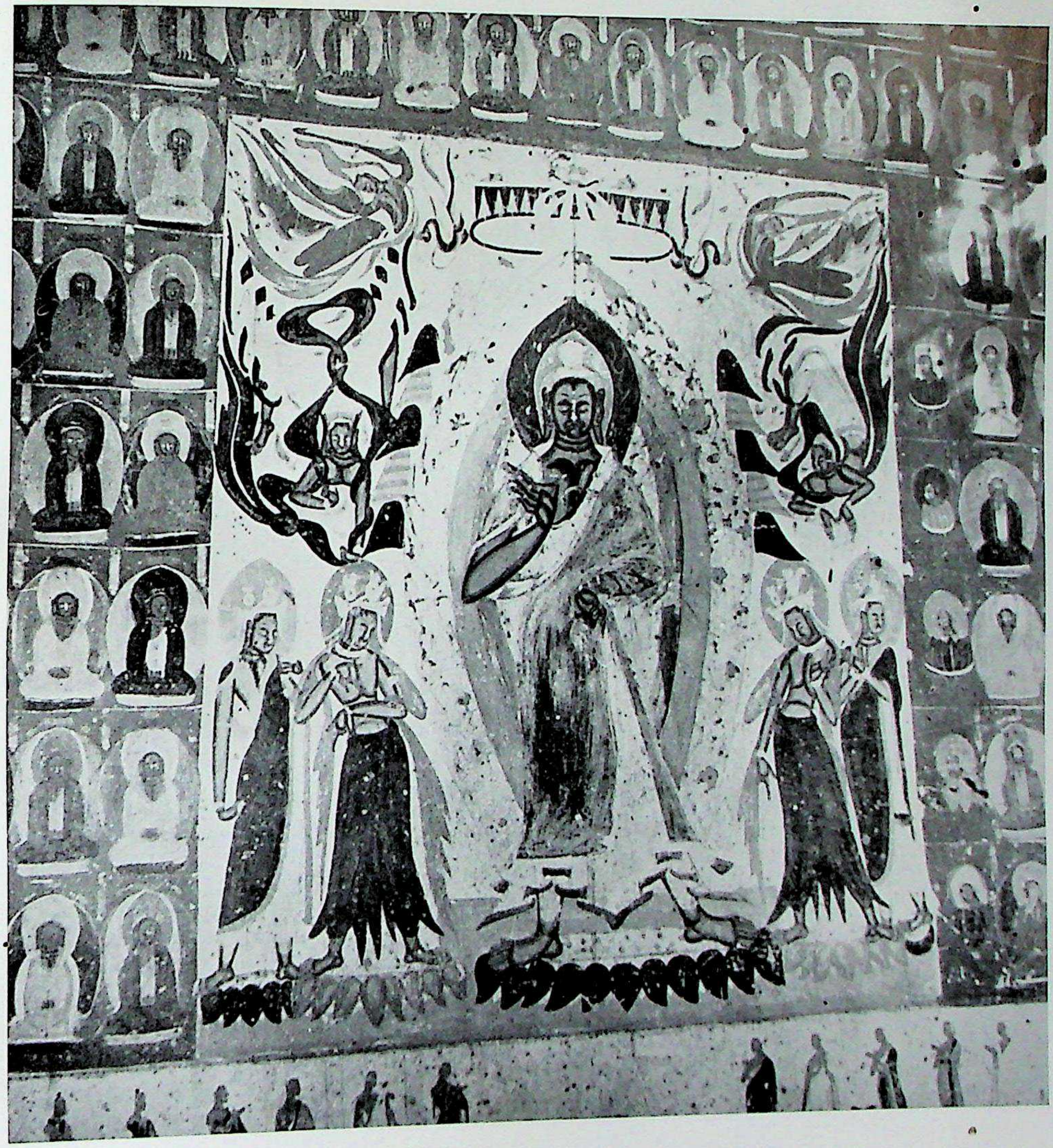
7. The Thousand Buddhas, above a frieze of the Seven Buddhas of the Past
About A.D. 500. Cave 257; P.110



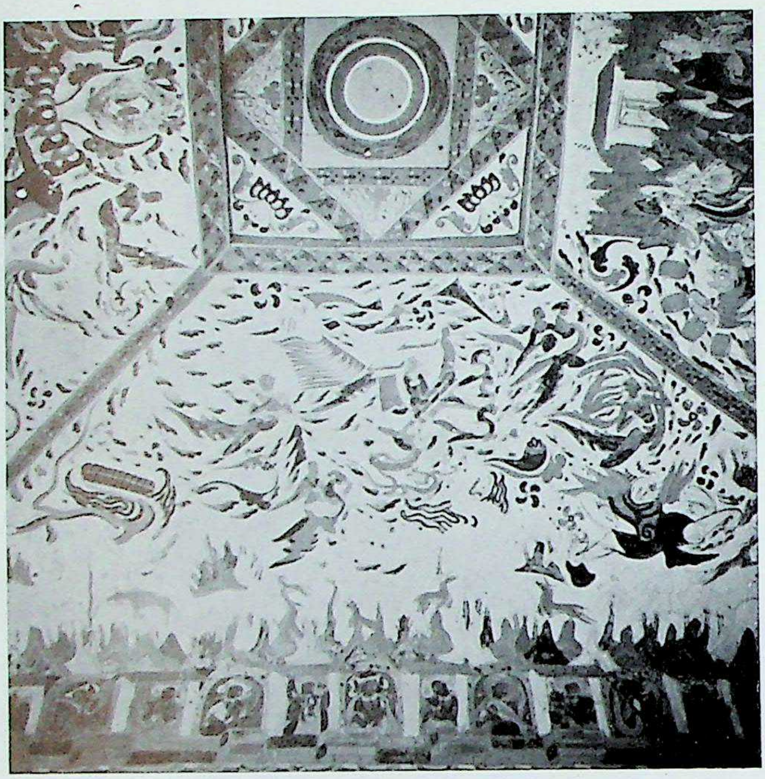
8. Śākyamuni Buddha between two Bodhisattvas
About A.D. 500. Cave 251; P.103



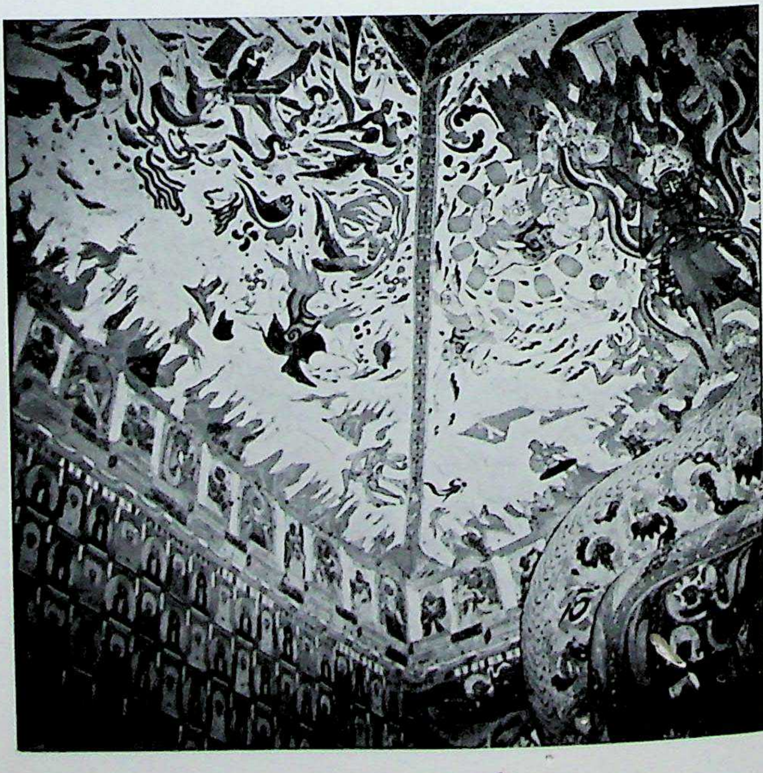
9. Detail of Śākyamuni painting with part of the Thousand Buddha painting
About A.D. 500. Cave 251; P.103



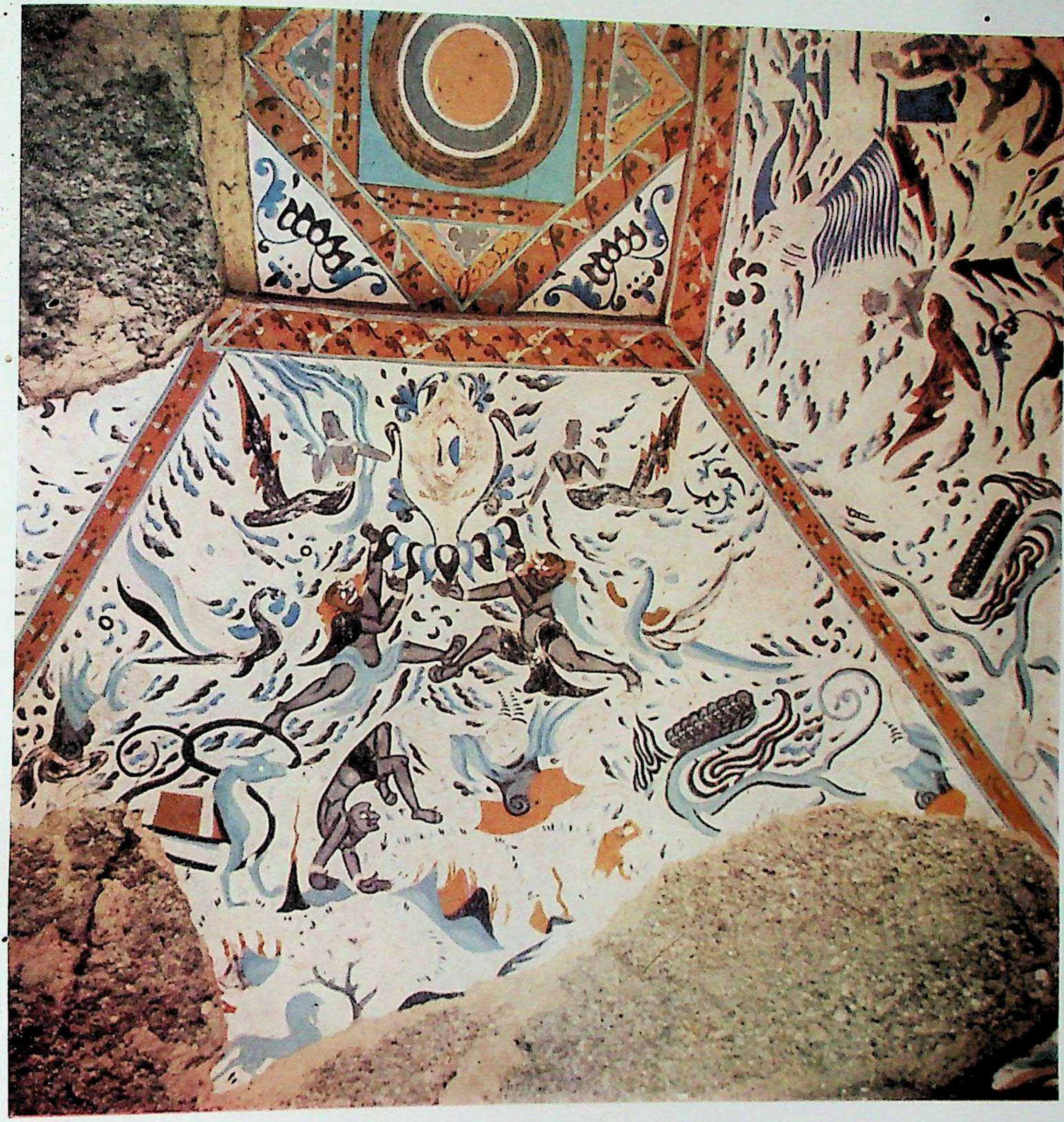
10. Śākyamuni standing on the Vulture Peak
Early sixth century. Cave 249; P.101



11A. Landscape in the vault
Early sixth century. Cave 249; P.101



11B. Two sections of vault; Magician in cloud chariot, and Aśura holding the sun and moon
Early sixth century. Cave 249; P.101



12. Vaulted roof, painted with Aśuras and monsters
Early sixth century. Cave 249; P.101

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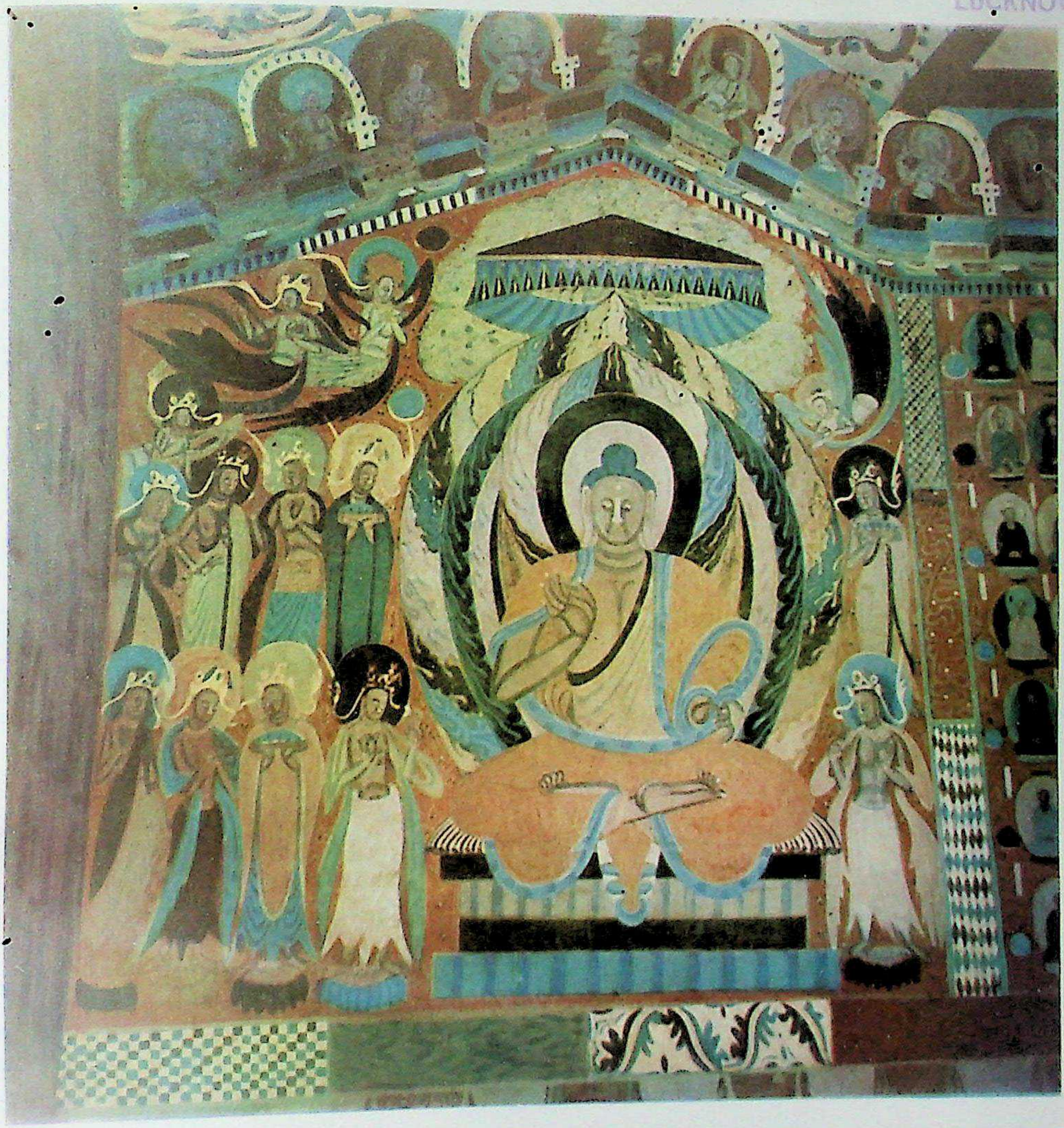
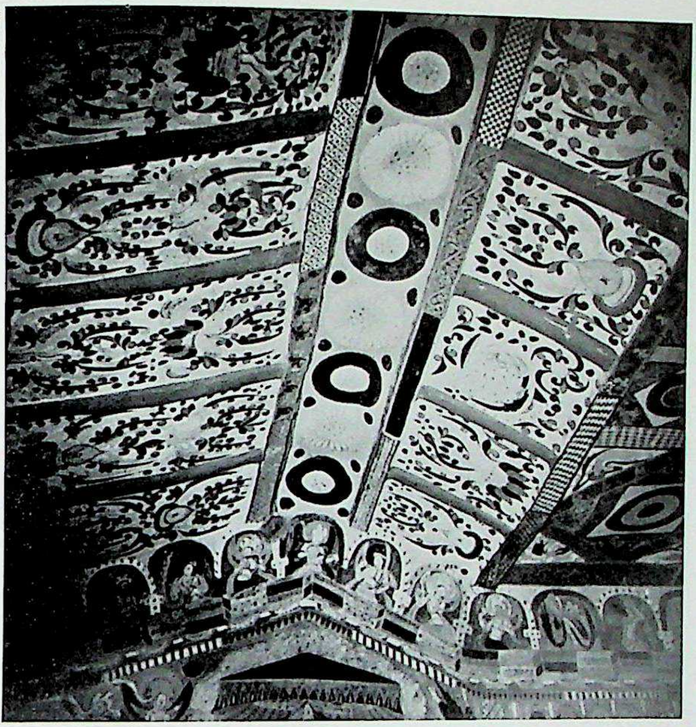
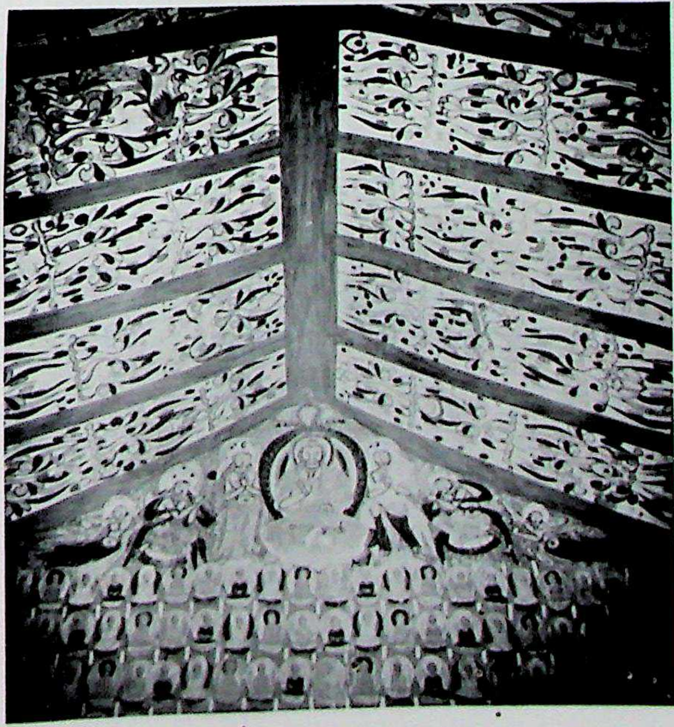


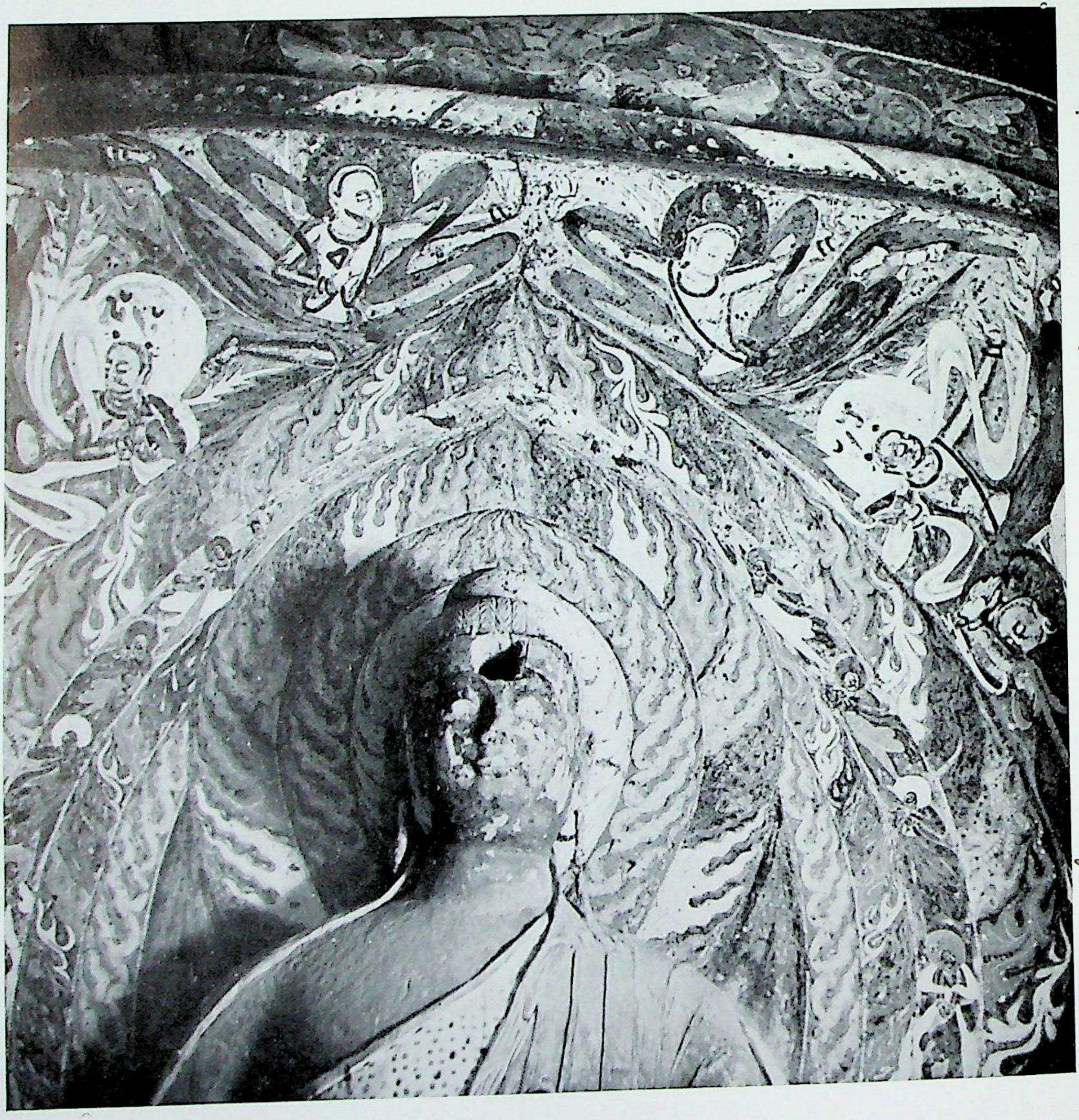
13. Śākyamuni seated on the rock throne preaching
Early sixth century. Cave 288; P.120P



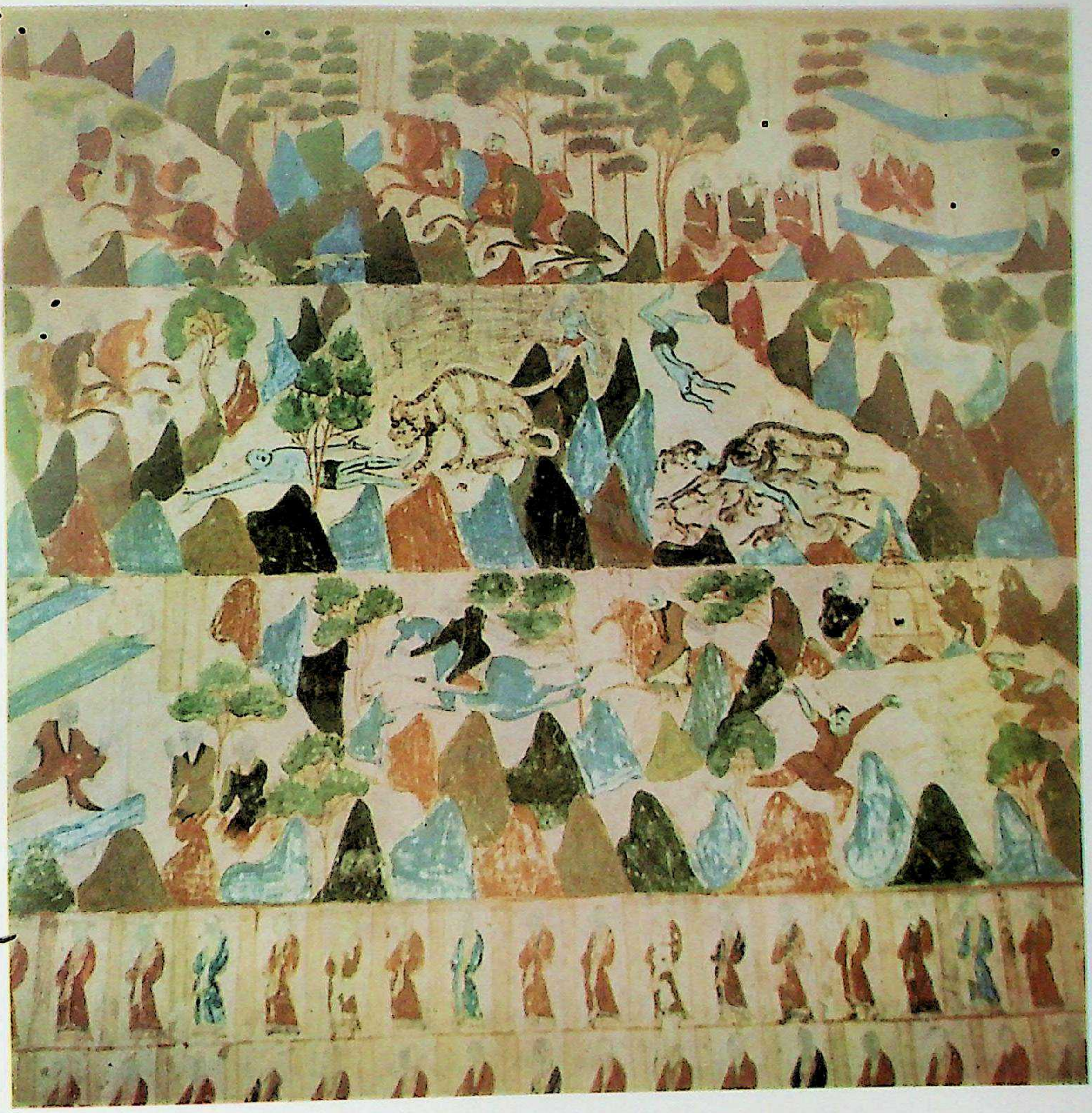
14A. Ceiling of Cave 288; P.120P
A.D. 520–30



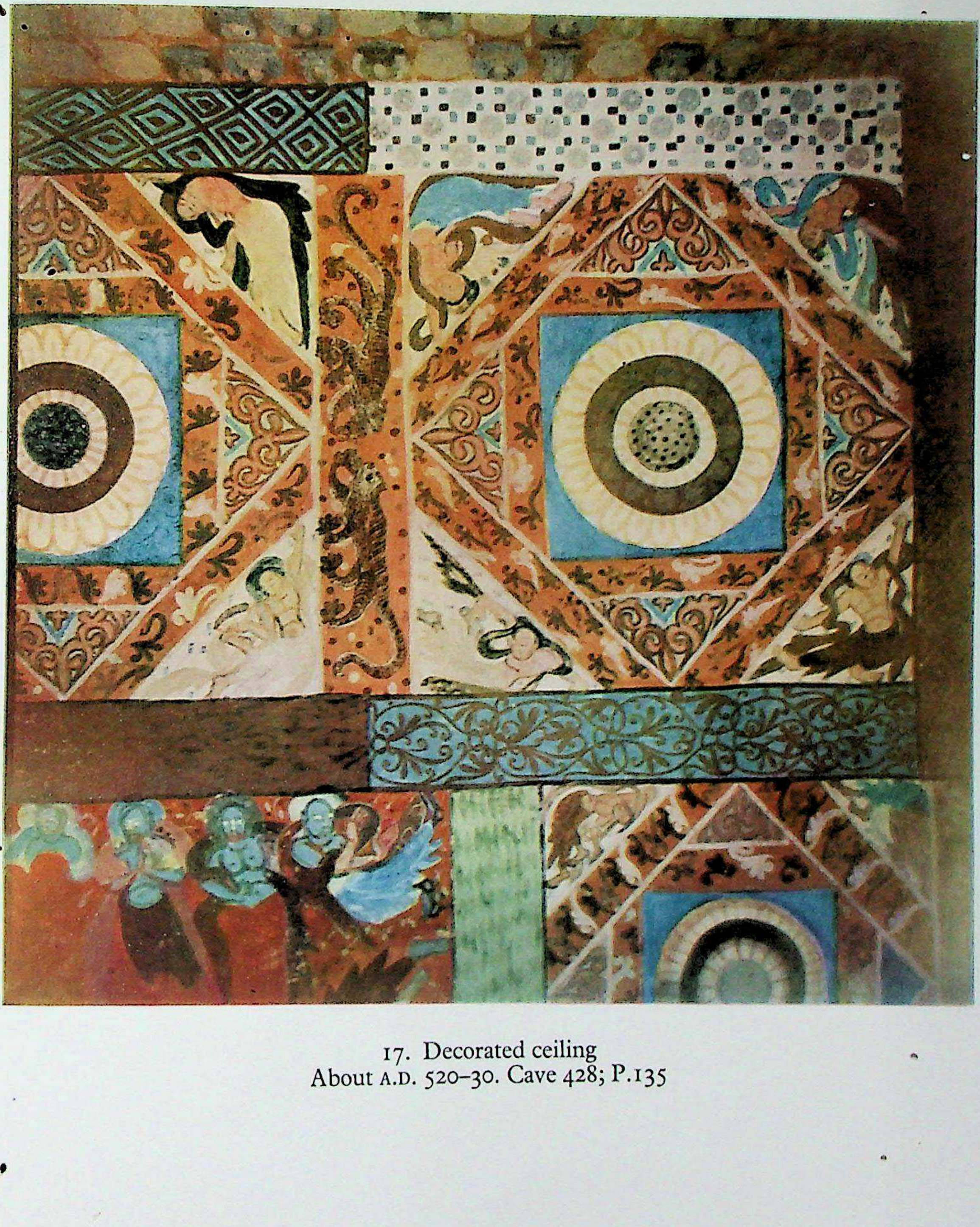
14B. Ceiling of Cave 428; P.135
About A.D. 520–30



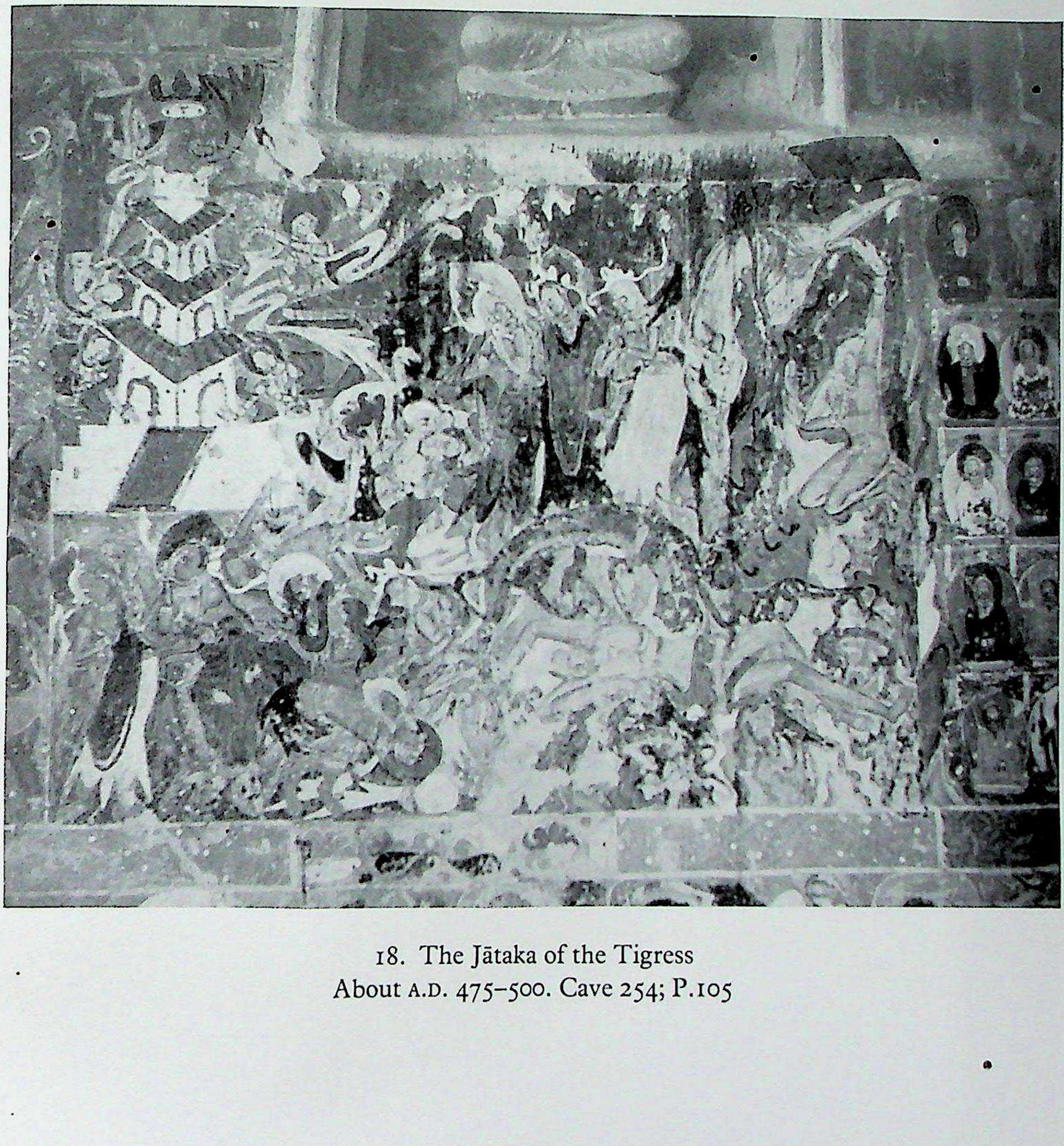
15. Apsarases flying above the head of Buddha
About A.D. 475–500. Cave 254; P.105



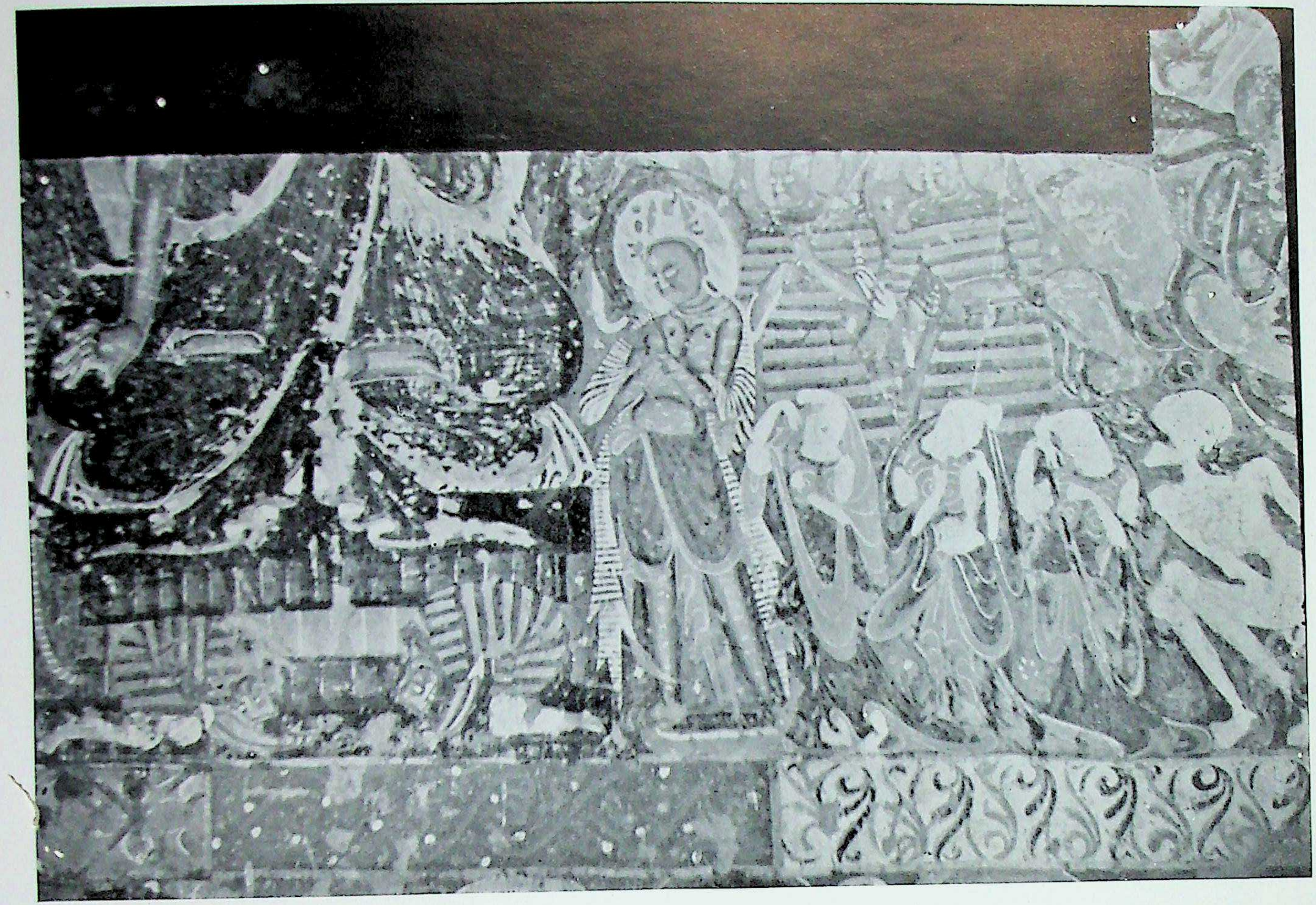
16. The Jātaka story of the Tigress
About A.D. 520–30. Cave 428; P.135



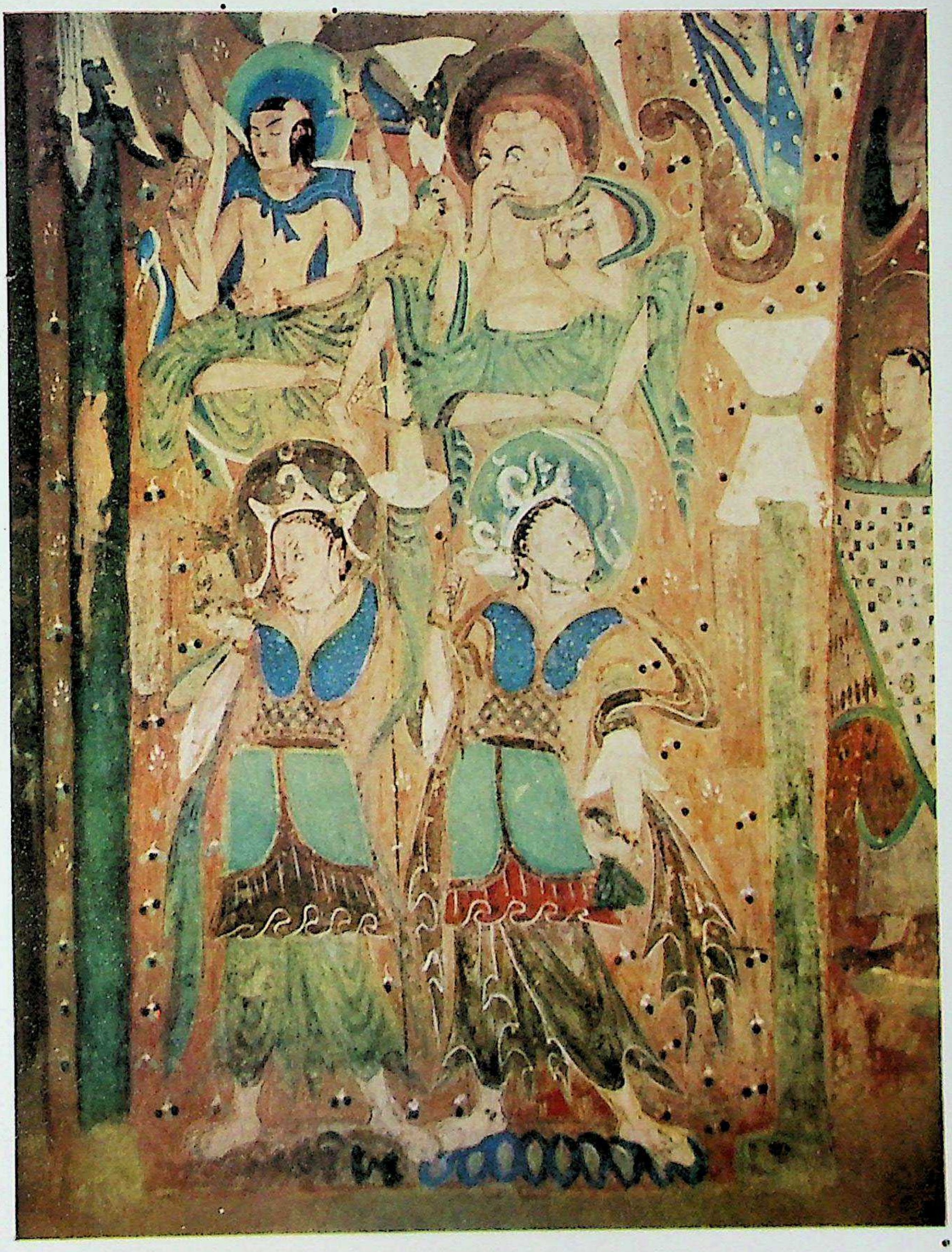
17. Decorated ceiling
About A.D. 520–30. Cave 428; P.135



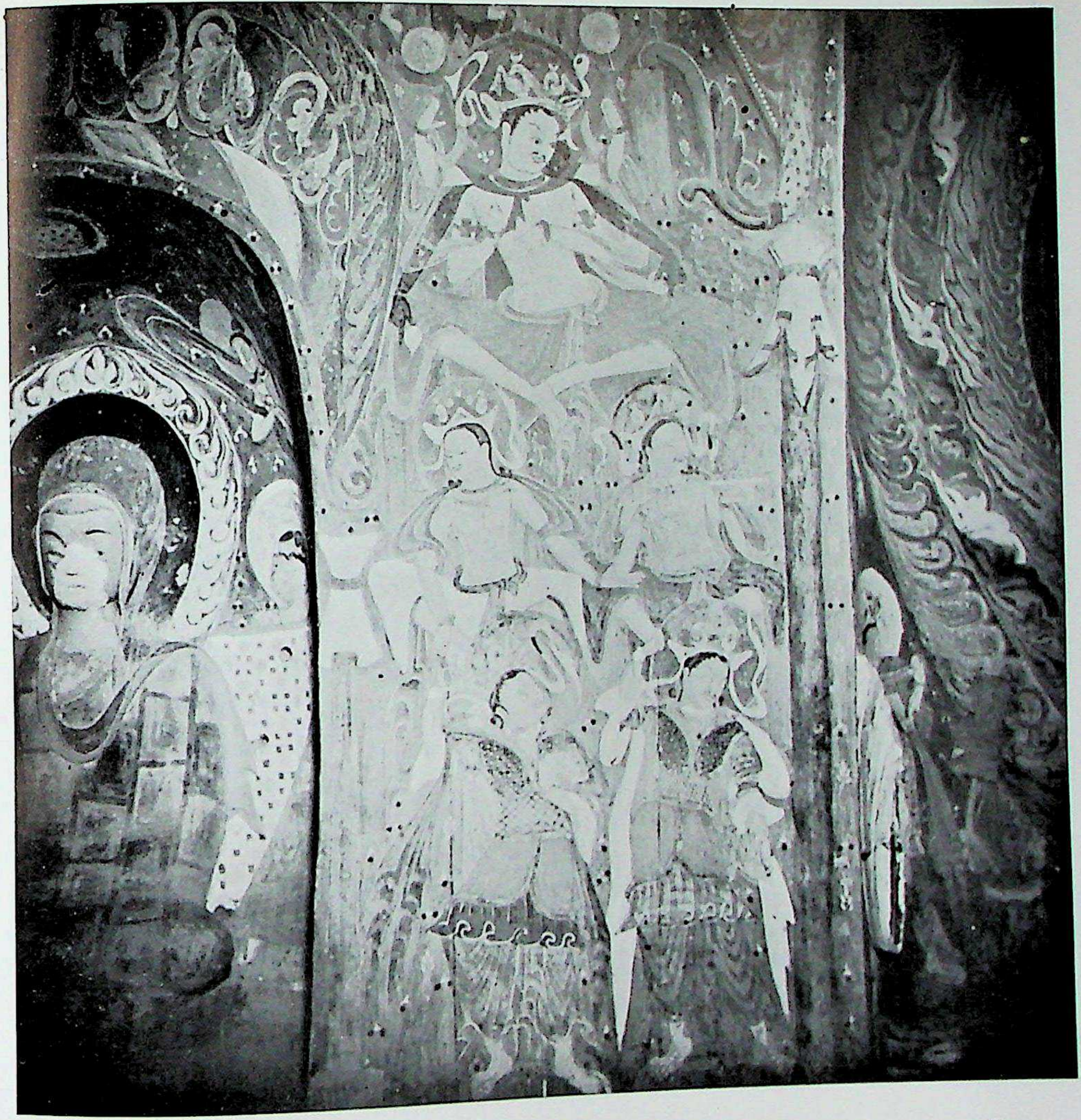
18. The Jātaka of the Tigress
About A.D. 475–500. Cave 254; P.105



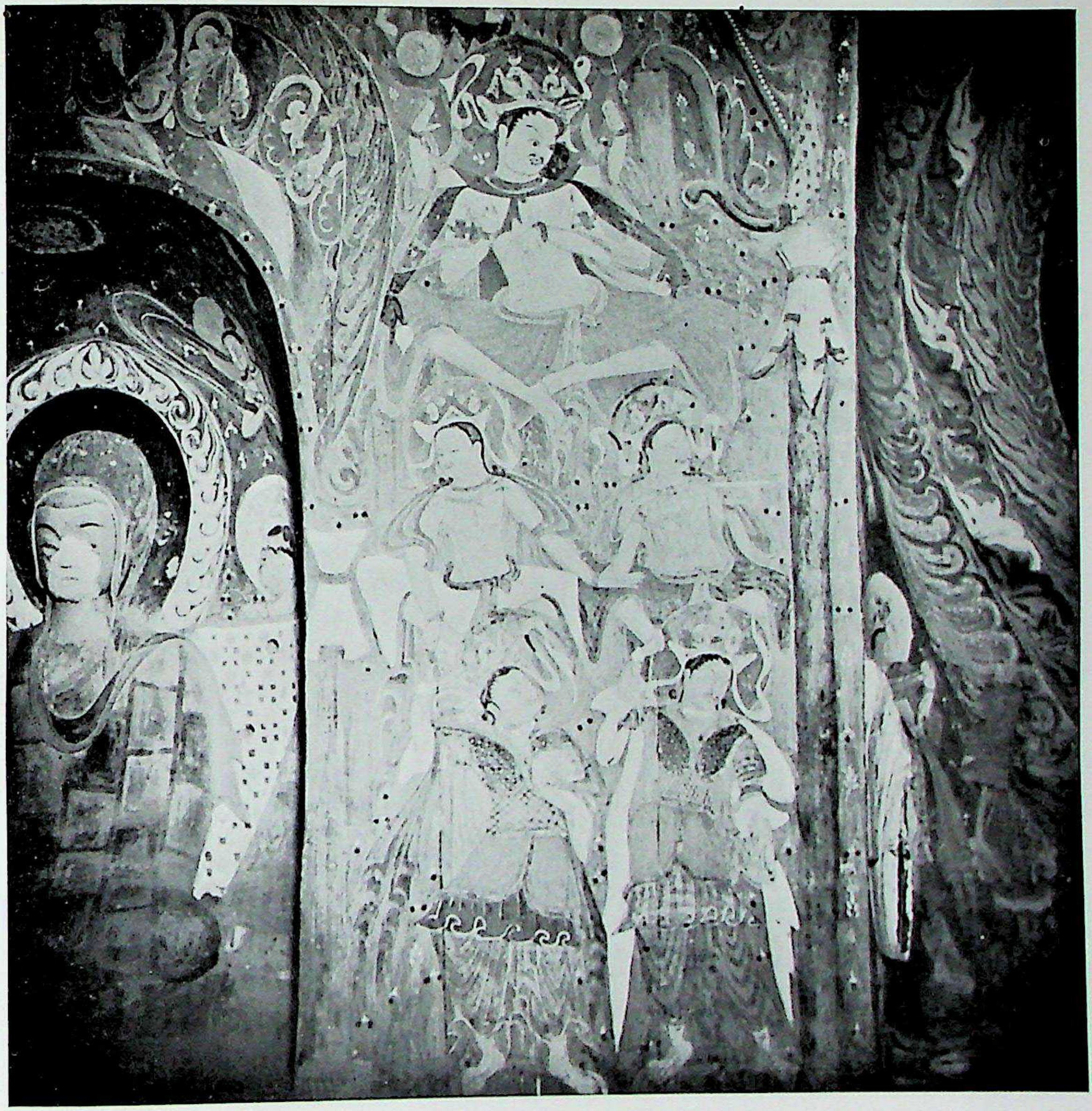
19. Detail from an Assault of Māra
About A.D. 475–500. Cave 254; P.105



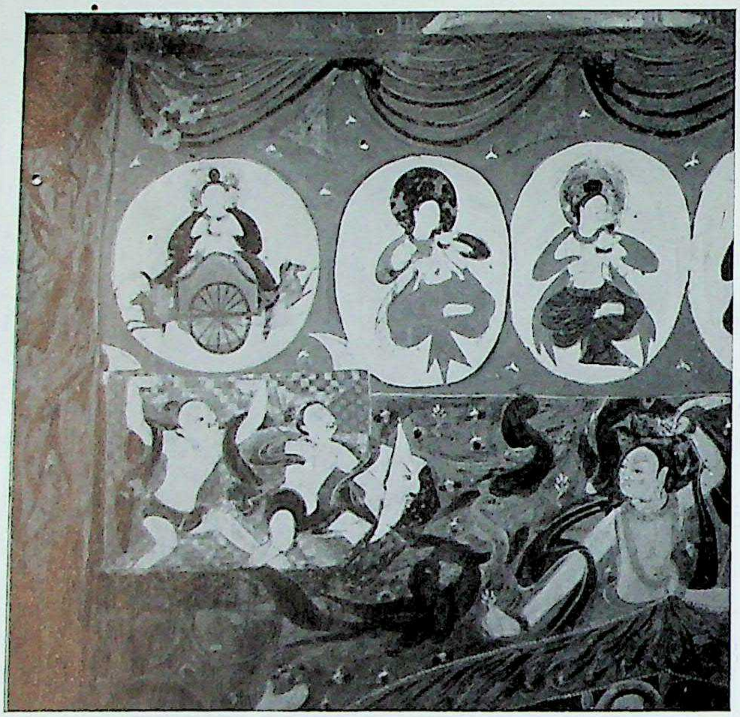
20. Maheśvara, Ganeśa and two Lokapālas
Dated 538/9. Cave 285; P.120N



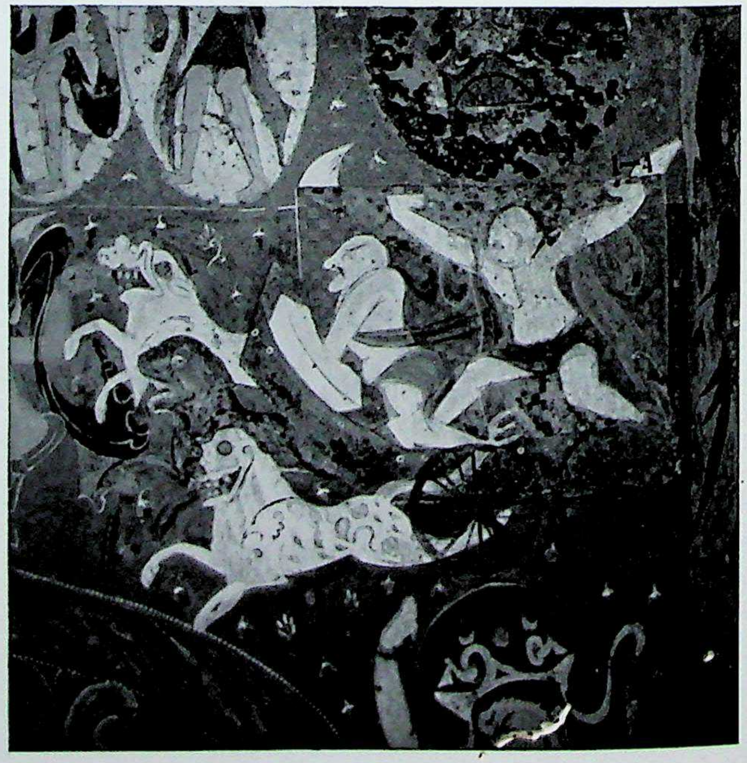
21. Kumāra and Vināyaka with two Lokapālas
Dated A.D. 538/9. Cave 285; P.120N



21. Kumāra and Vināyaka with two Lokapālas
Dated A.D. 538/9. Cave 285; P.120N



22A and B. Chariots of the Sun and Moon
Dated A.D. 538. Cave 285; P.120N
Tun-huang Institute photographs



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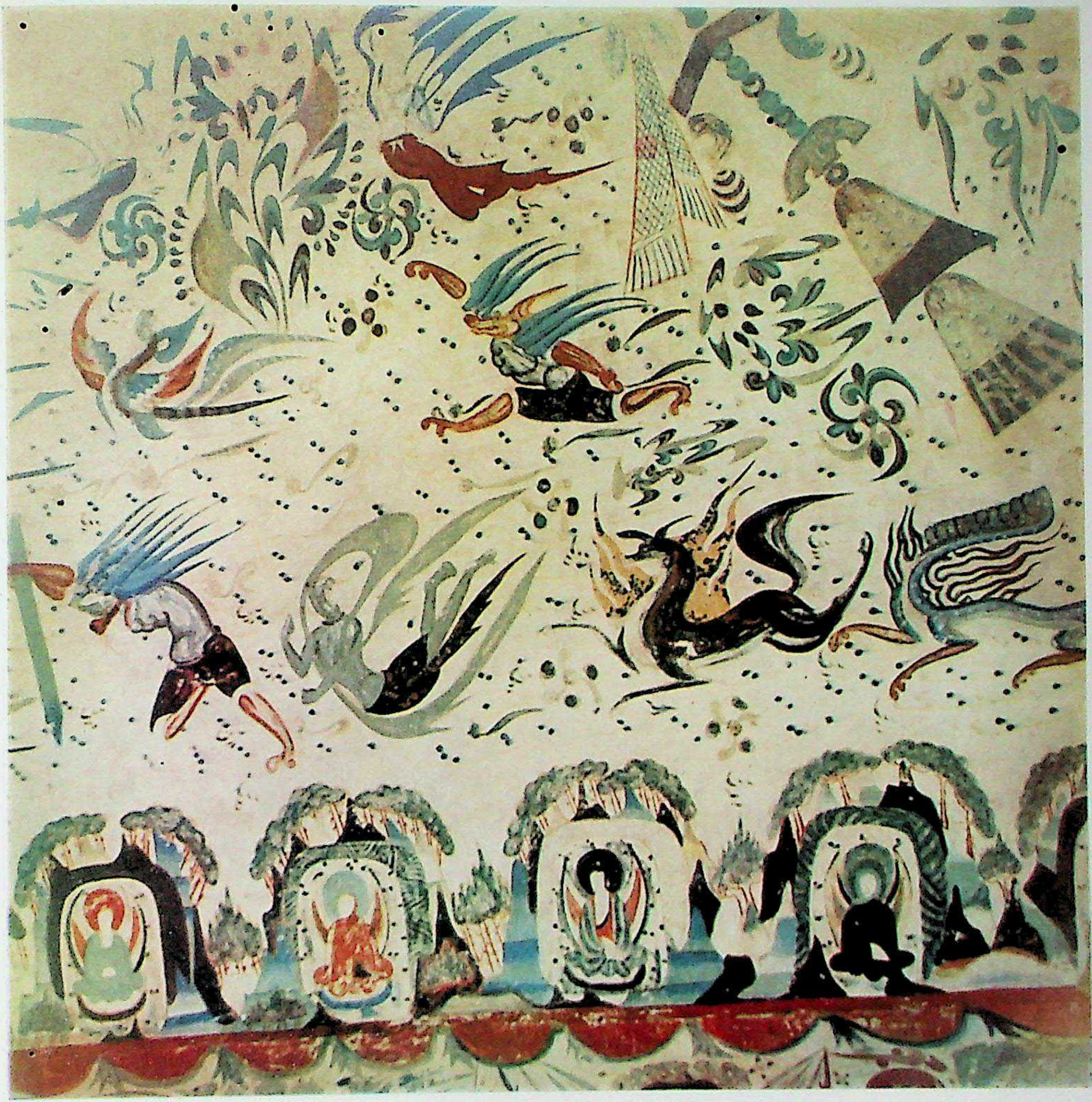
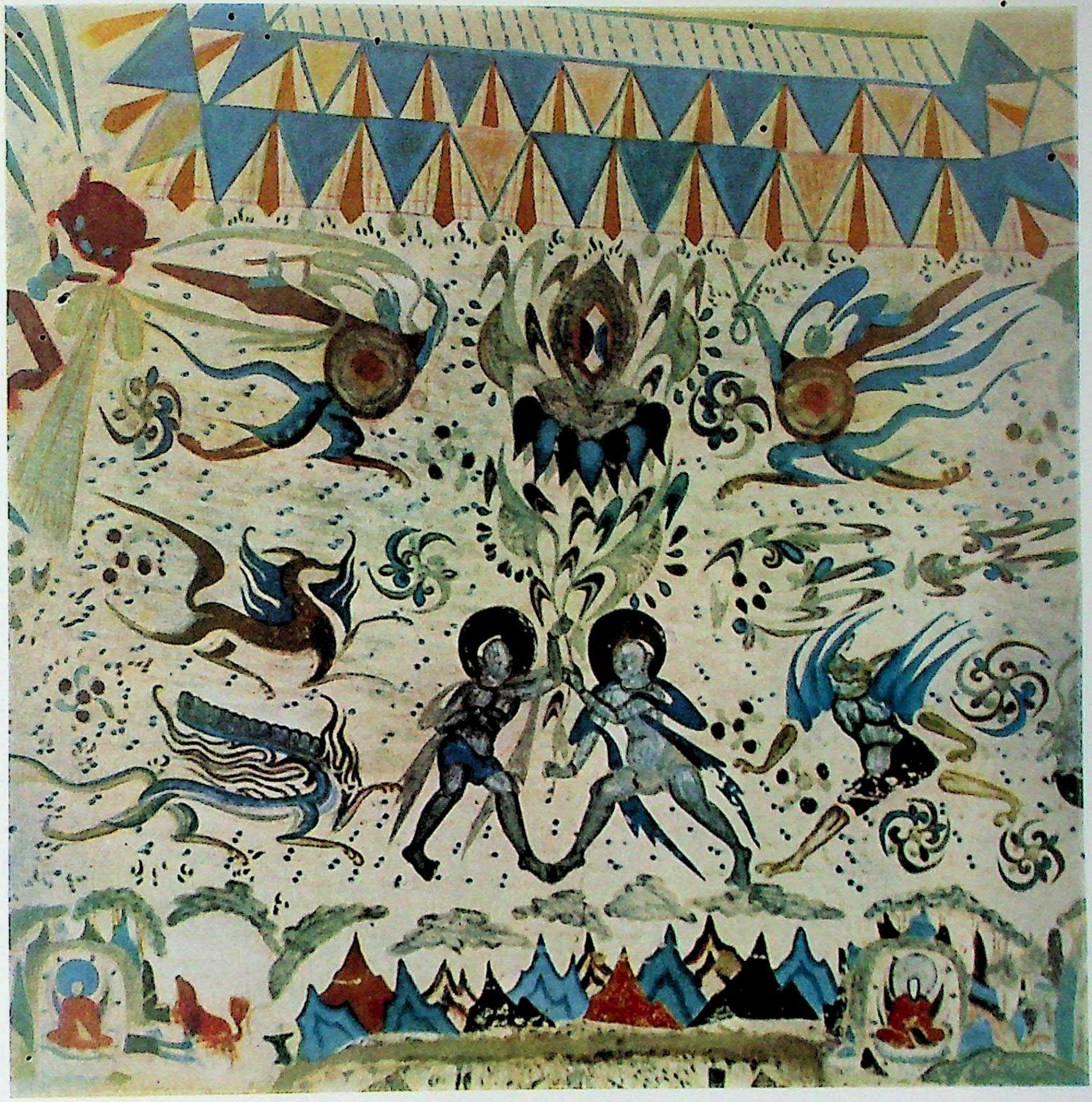
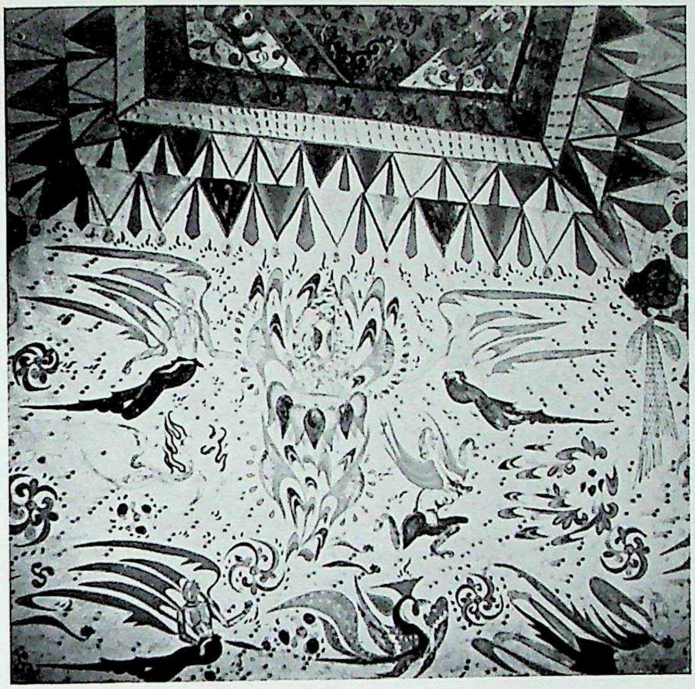


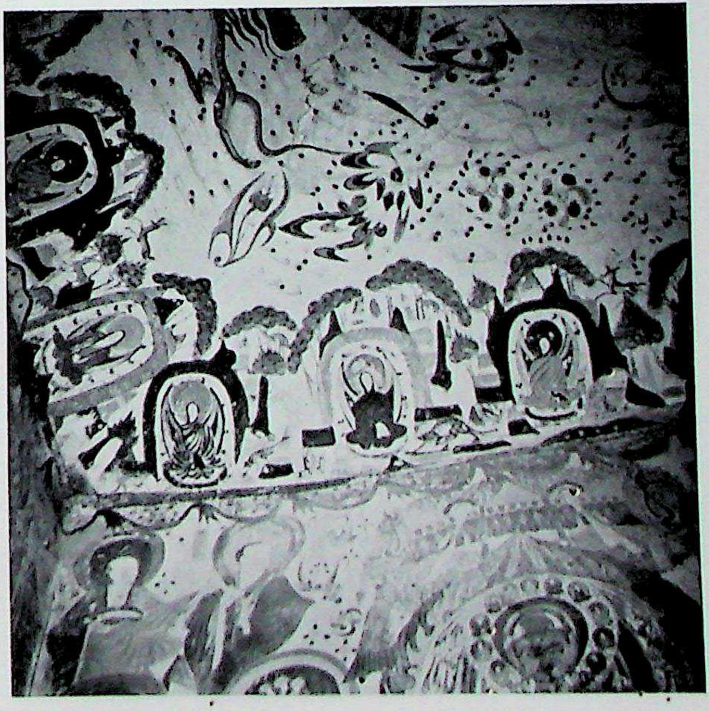
23. North Quadrant of the Vault. Thunder demons and monsters above Buddha frieze
Dated A.D. 538. Cave 285; P.120N



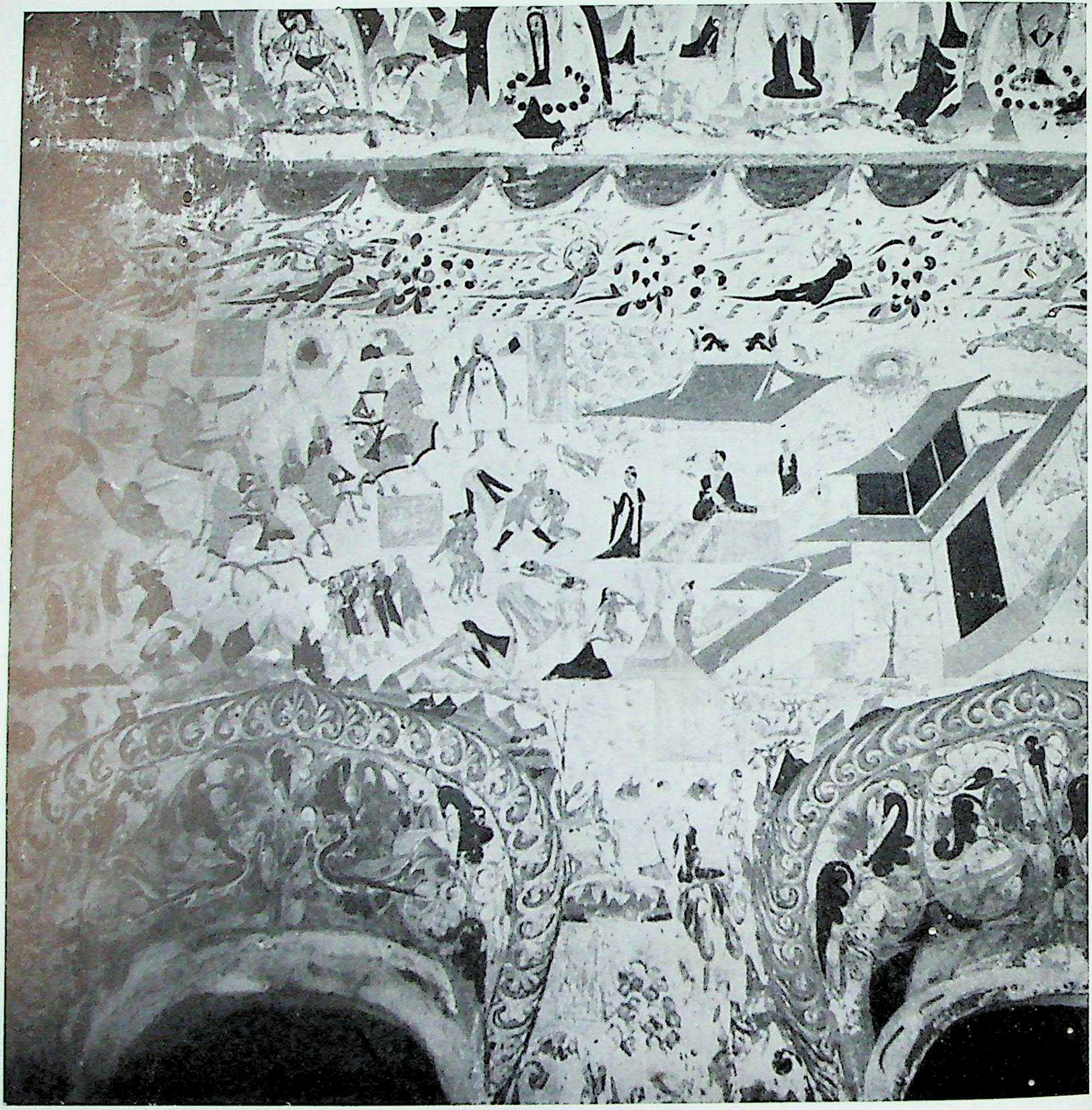
24. Above, Fu Hsi and Nü-wa. Below, Yakshas and Vāyu, the wind demon
Dated A.D. 538. Cave 285; P.120N



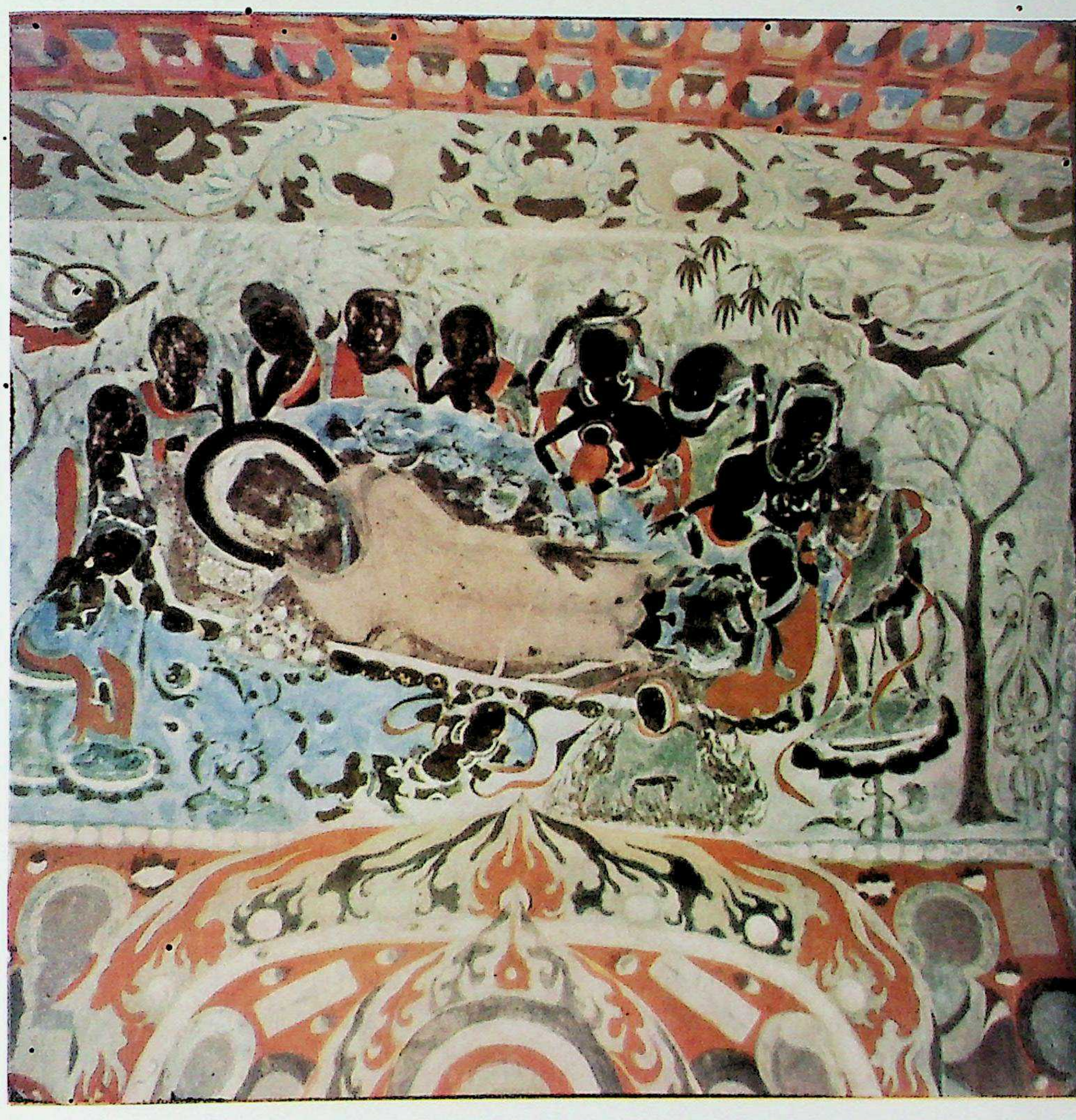
25A. Apsarases below a painted canopy
Dated A.D. 538/9. Cave 285; P.120N



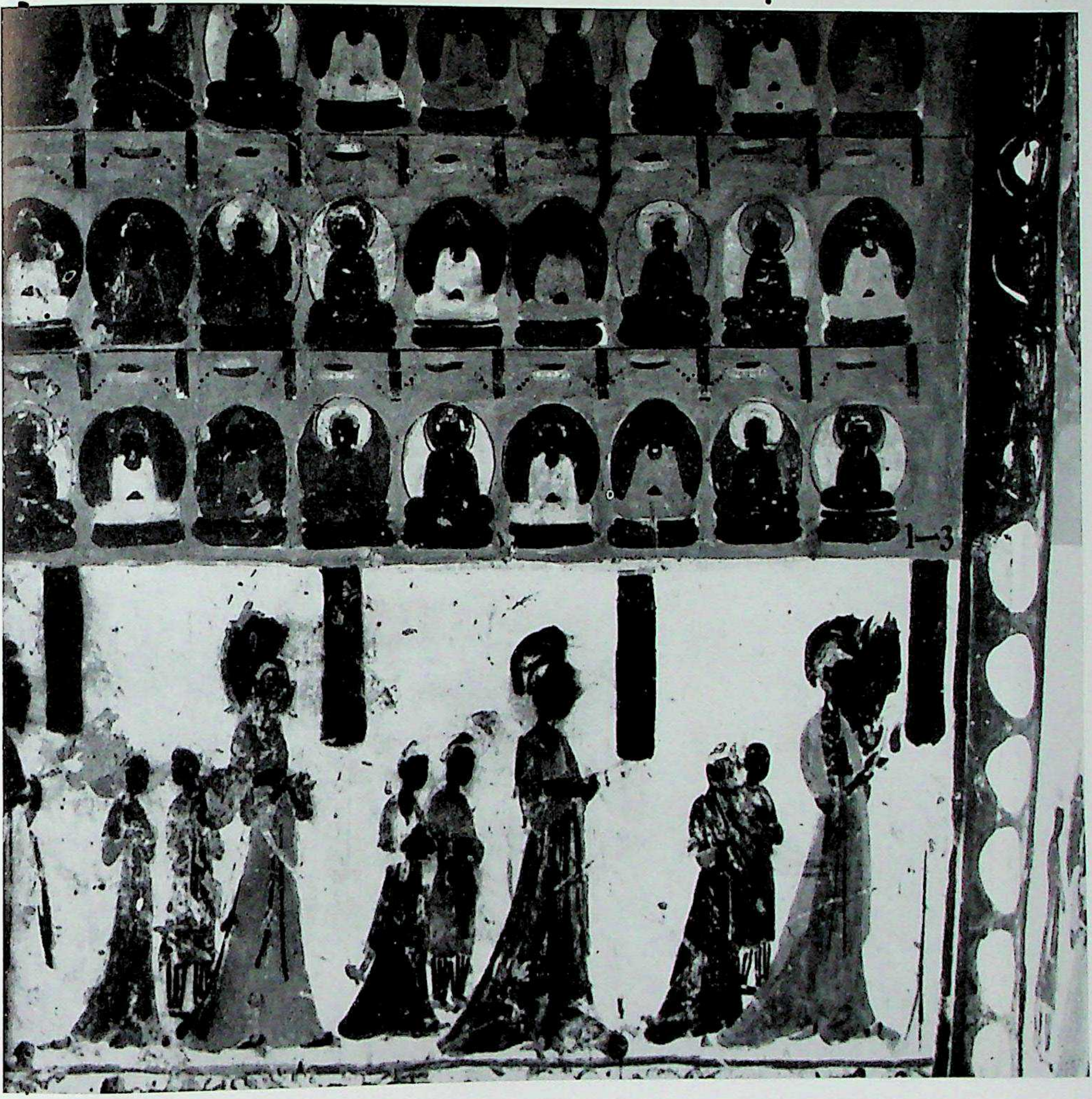
25B. Frieze of meditating Buddhas along the base of the vault in Cave 285; P.120N



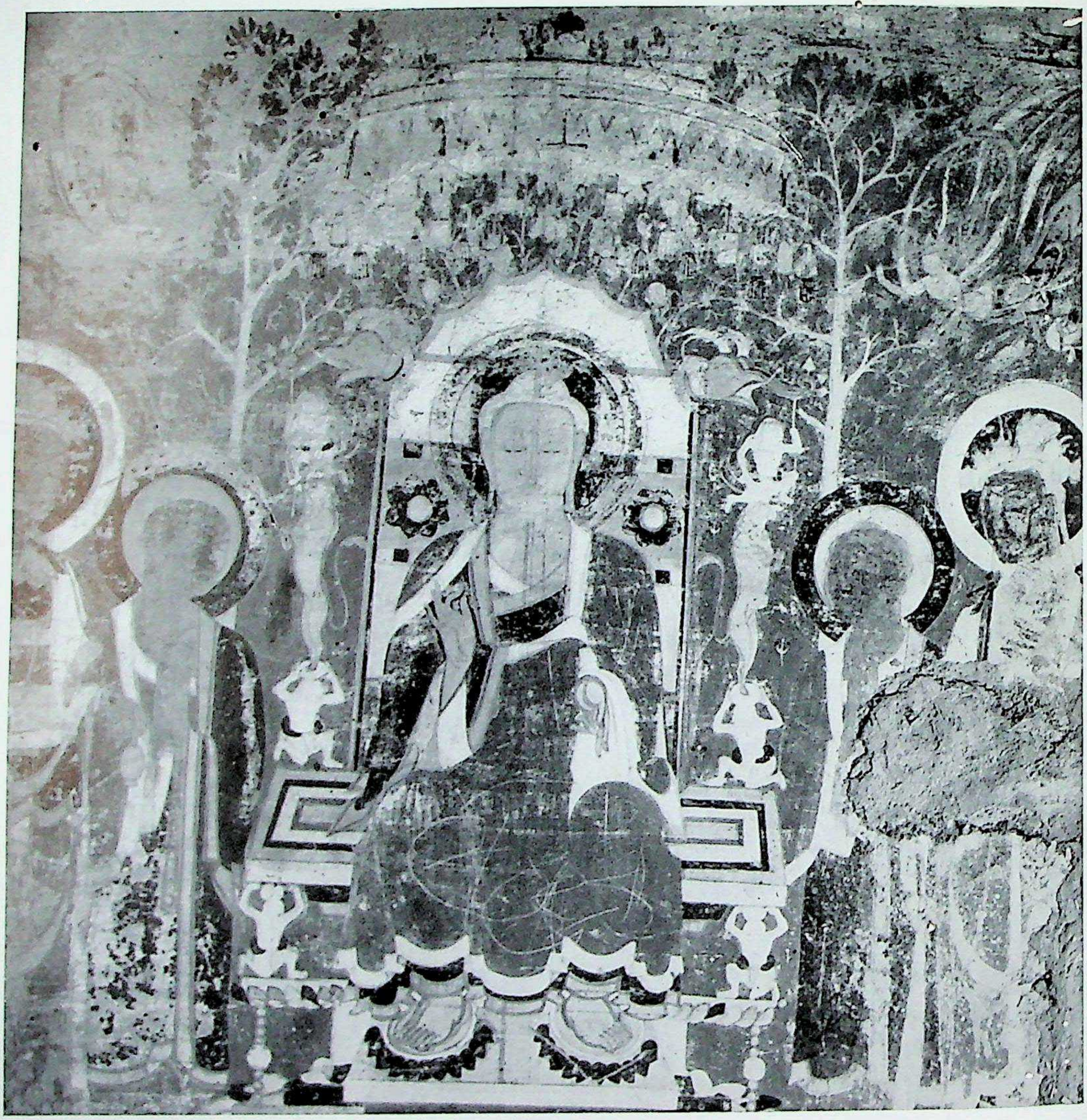
26. A battle with bandits
A.D. 538/9. Cave 285; P.120N



27. The Nirvāna of the Buddha
About A.D. 550–75. Cave 295; P.126B



28. Donors
Late sixth century. Cave 375
Tun-huang Institute photograph



29. Buddha enthroned
About A.D. 600. Cave 405
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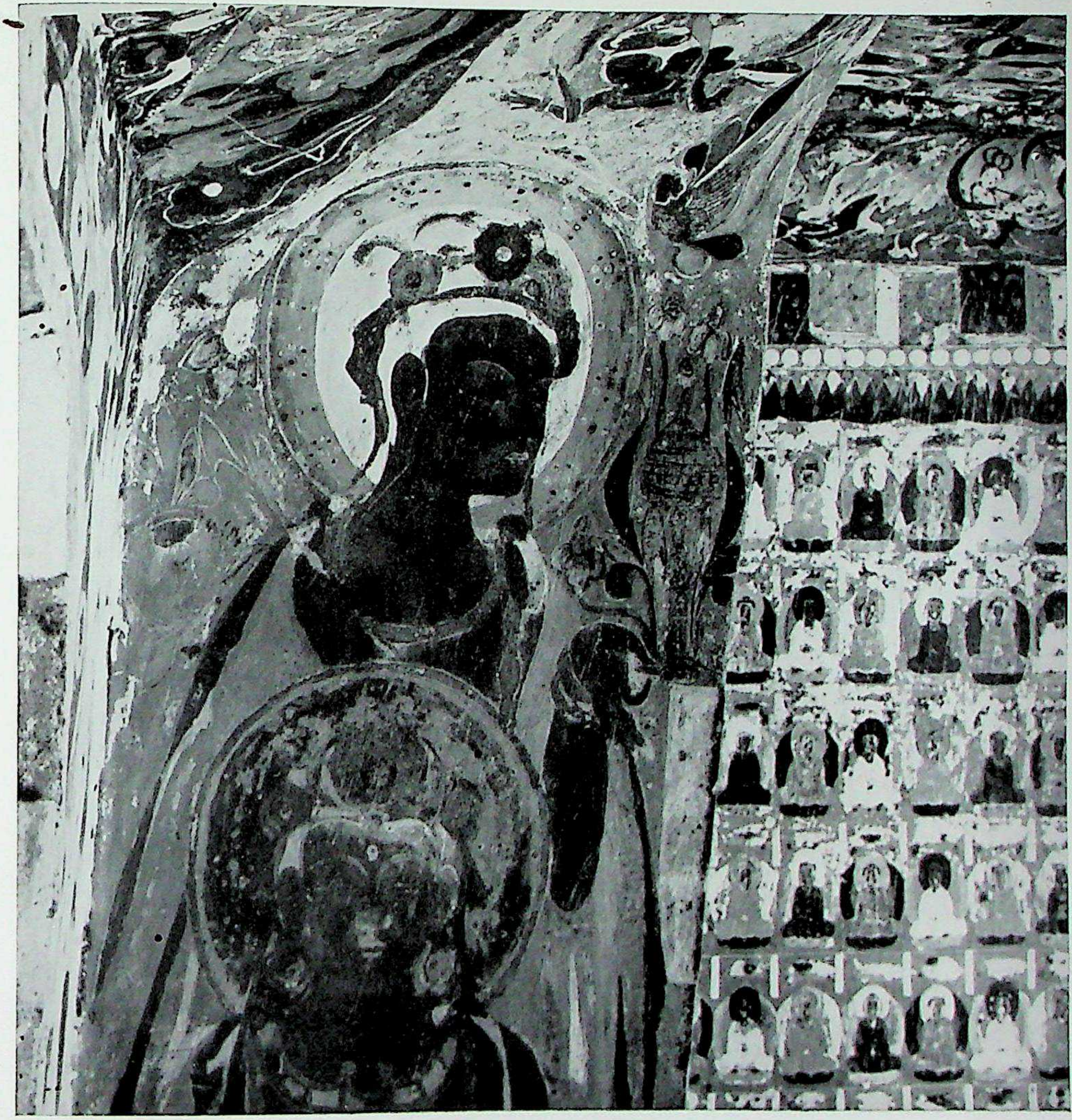
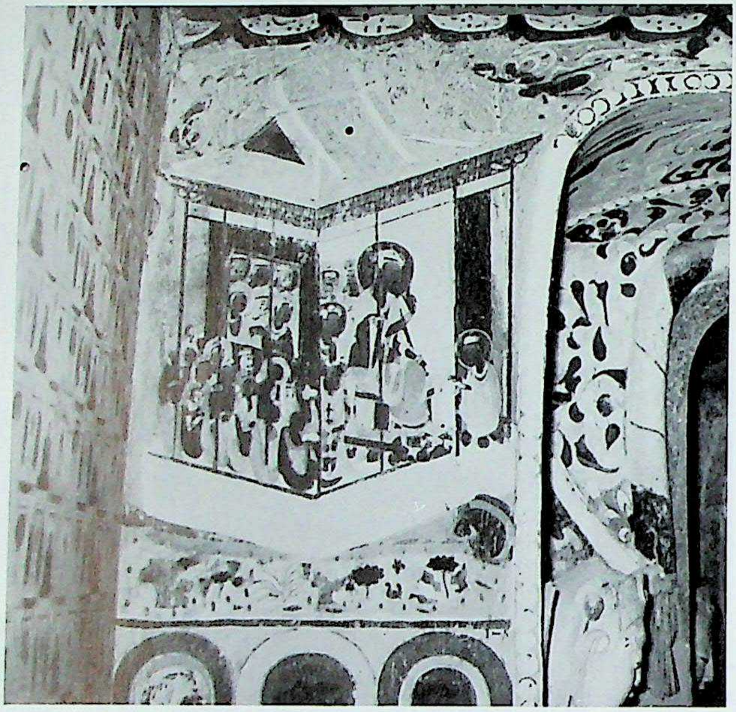
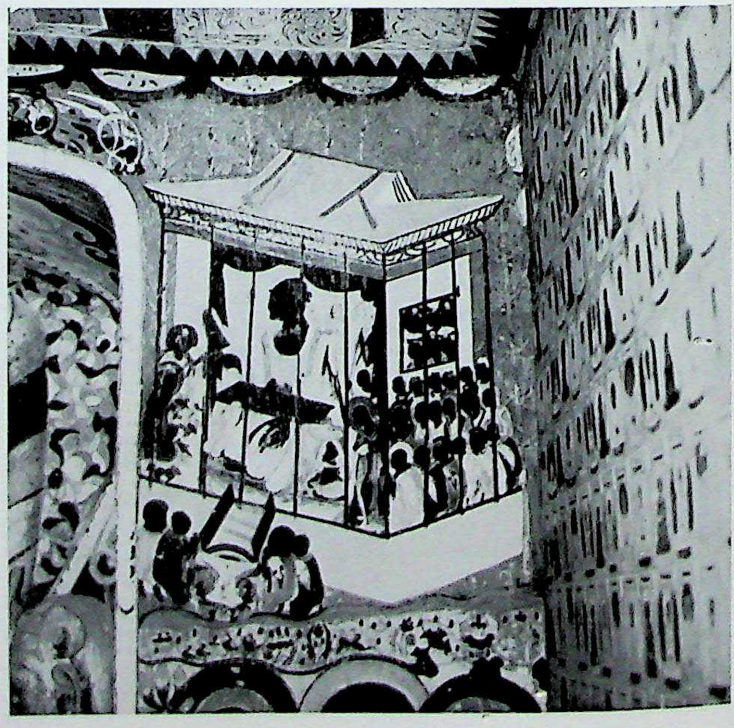


30. Detail of Bodhisattva holding vase
About A.D. 600. Cave 404
Tun-huang Institute photograph

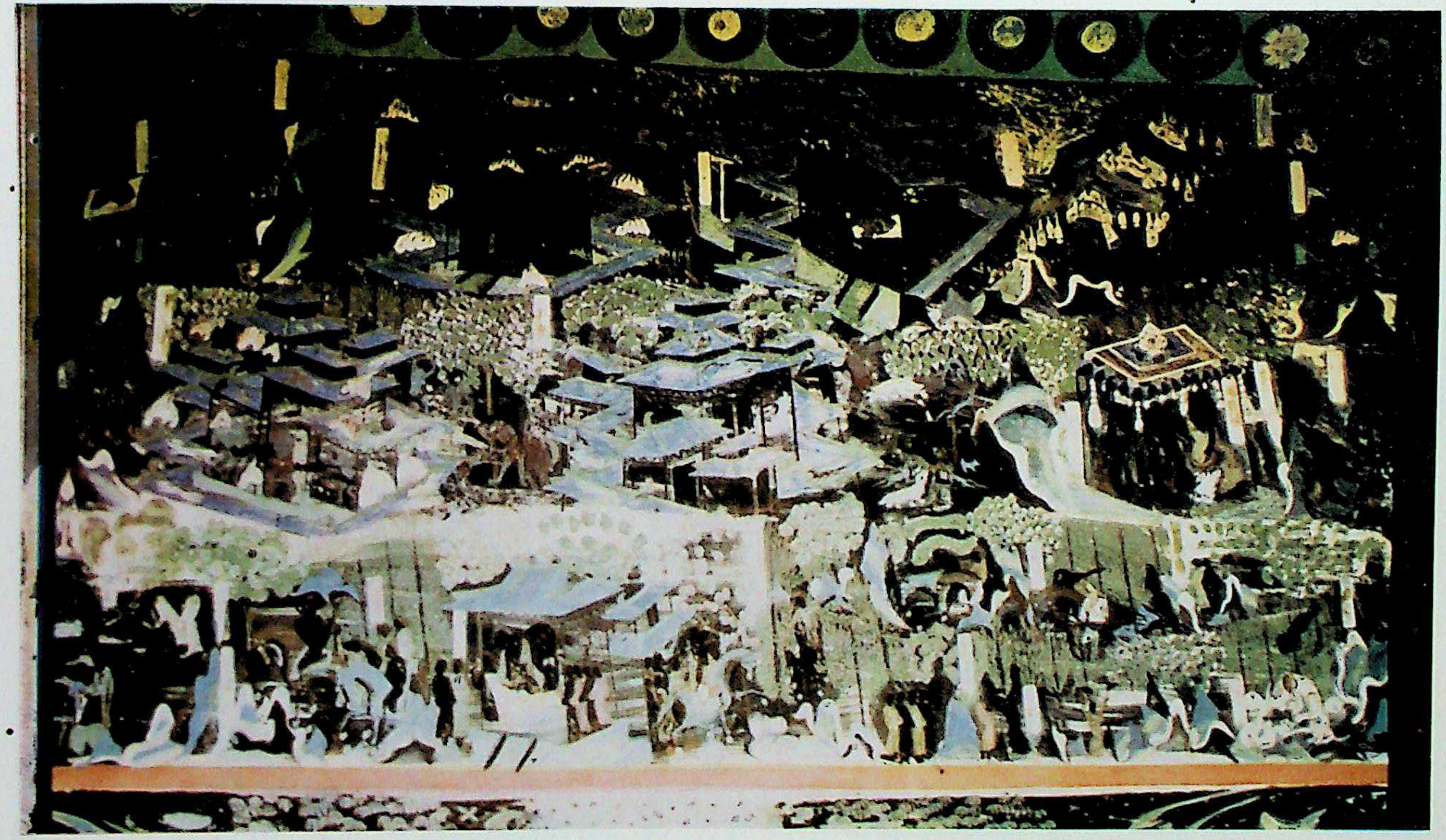


31A. Manjuśrī
About A.D. 600. Cave 420

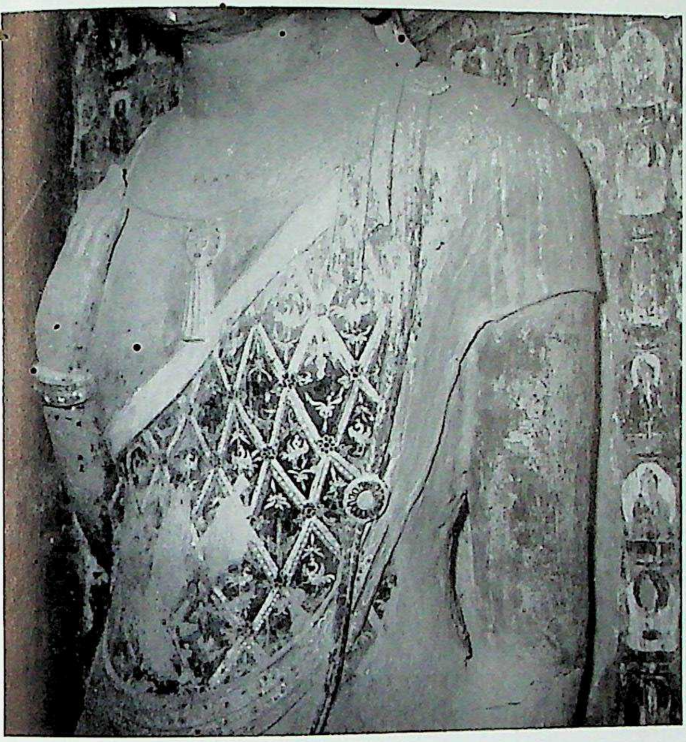
Tun-huang Institute photographs



31B. Vimalakīrti
About A.D. 600. Cave 420

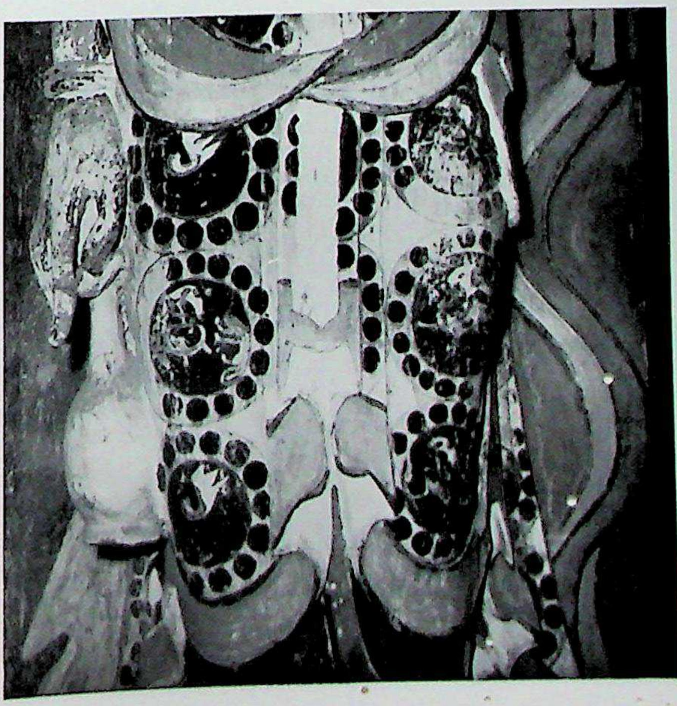


32. Landscape on ceiling
Sui dynasty A.D. 589–618. Cave 419
Tun-huang Institute photograph

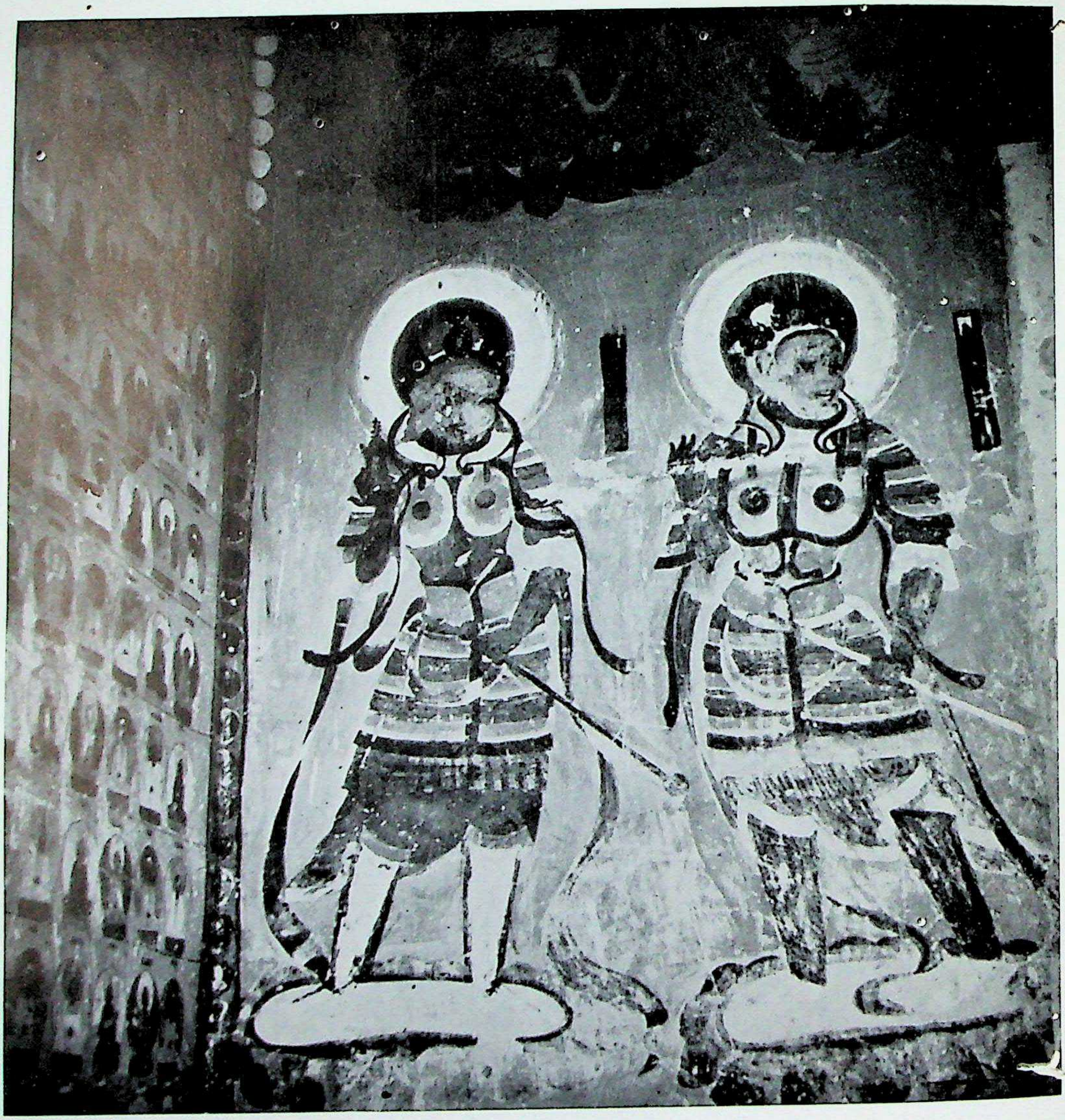


33A. Phoenix pattern on the dress of a clay figure of Bodhisattva
Sui dynasty. Cave 420

Tun-huang Institute photographs



33B. Hunting pattern on skirt of Kuan-yin
Sui dynasty. Cave 427



34. Two Lokapāla
Sui dynasty. Cave 203; P.87

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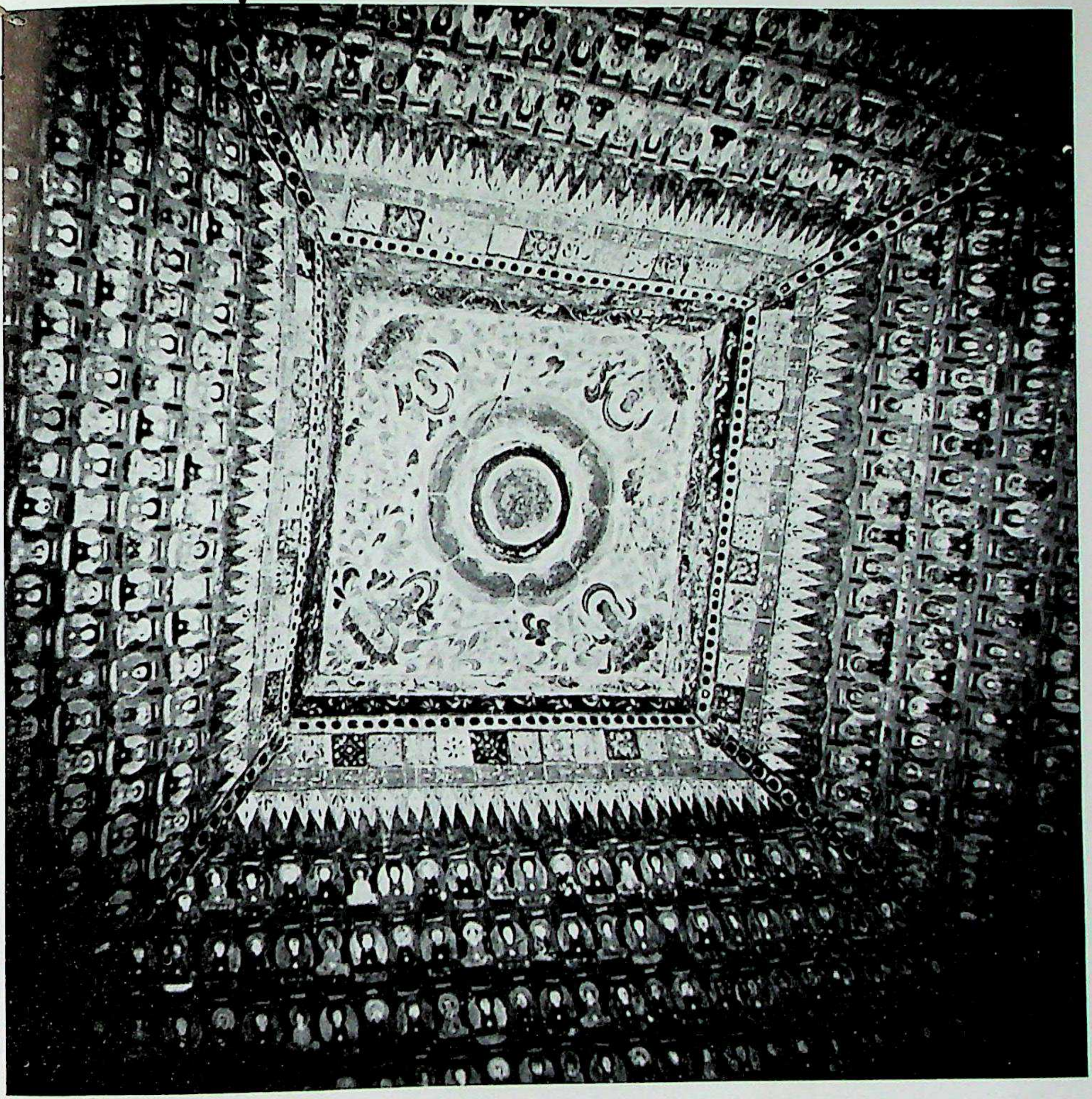
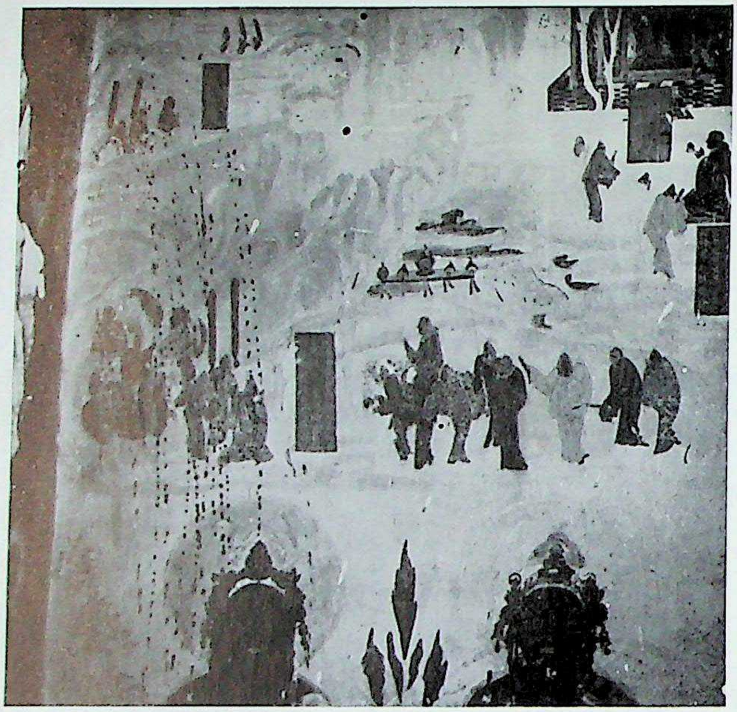
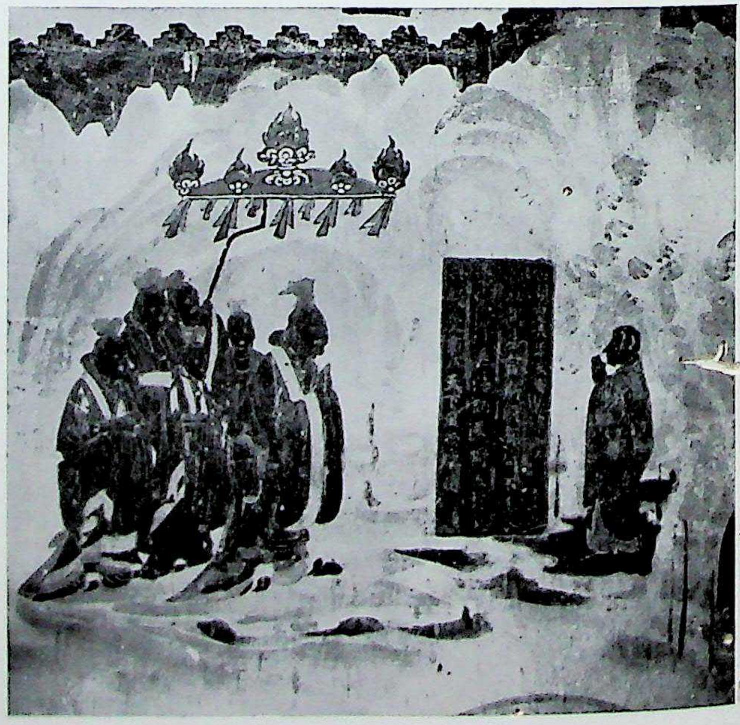


35. Painted vault with lotus centre
Sui dynasty. Cave 314; P.1371

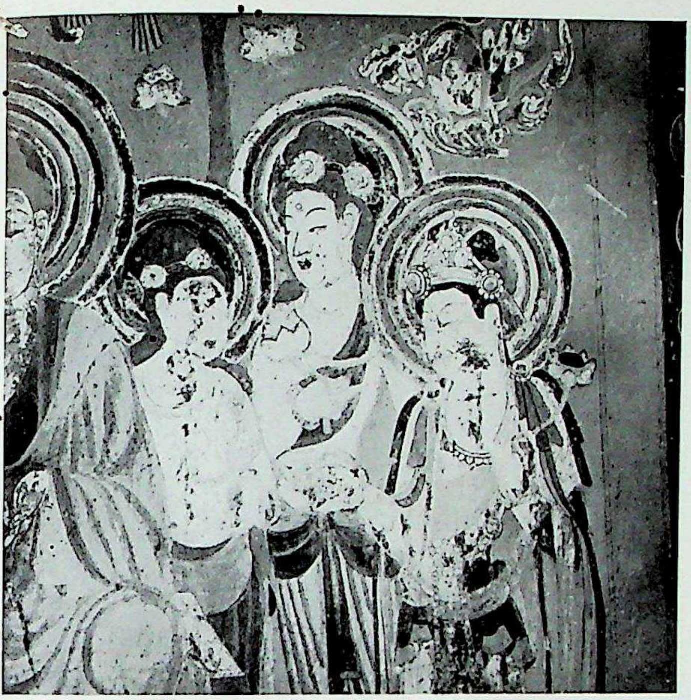


36A. Wu Ti and Chang Ch'ien
Early seventh century. Cave 323

Tun-huang Institute photographs

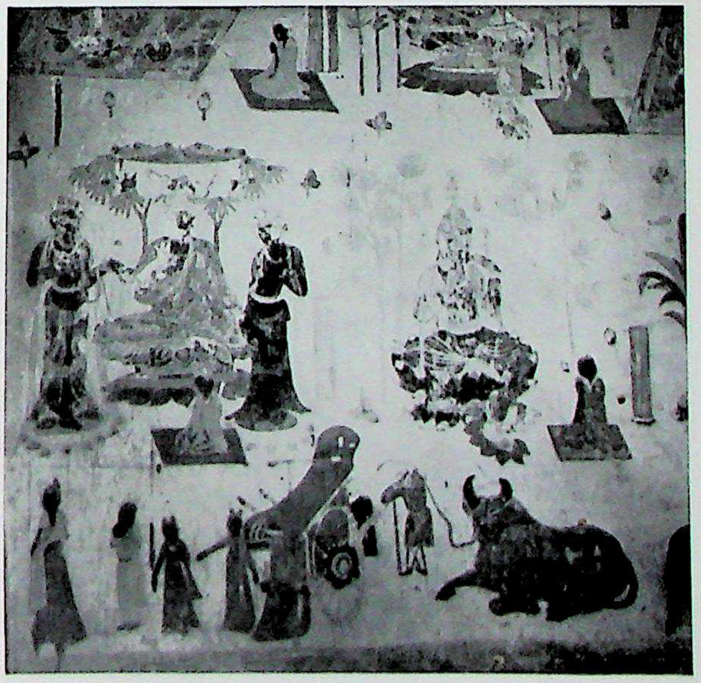


36B. T'an-yen and the emperor
Early seventh century. Cave 323

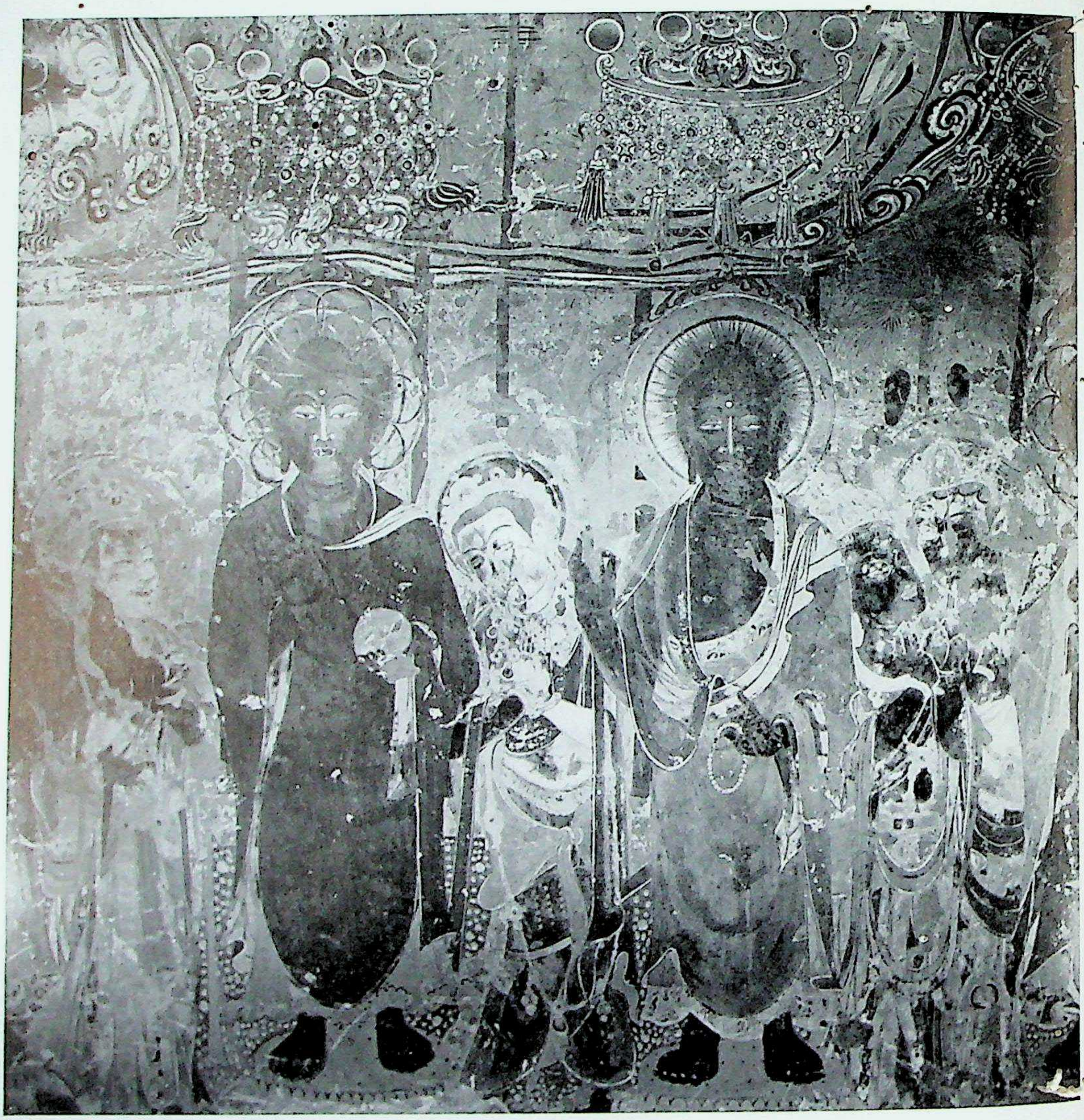


37A. Buddha and Bodhisattvas
Seventh century. Cave 322

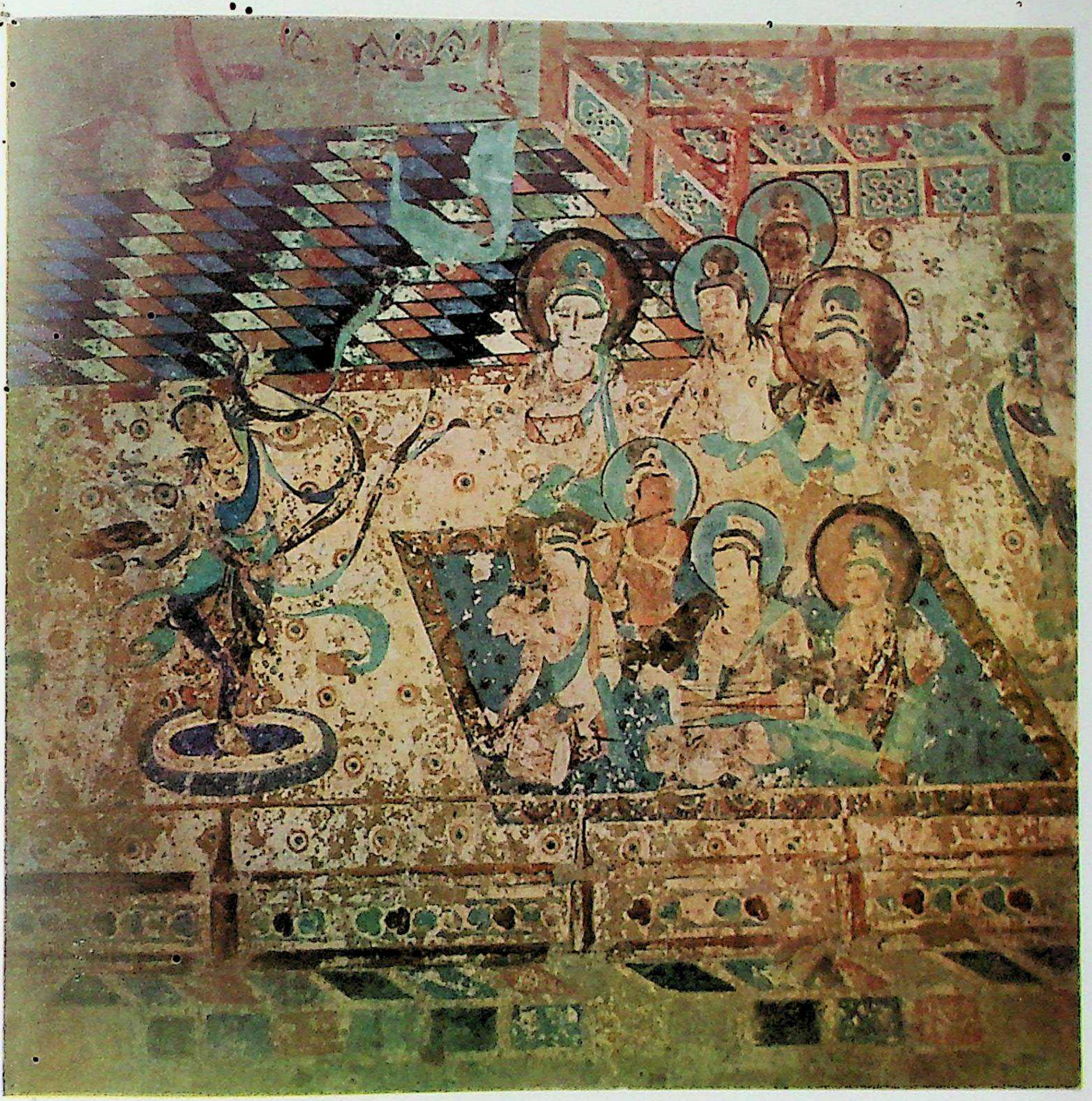
Tun-huang Institute photographs



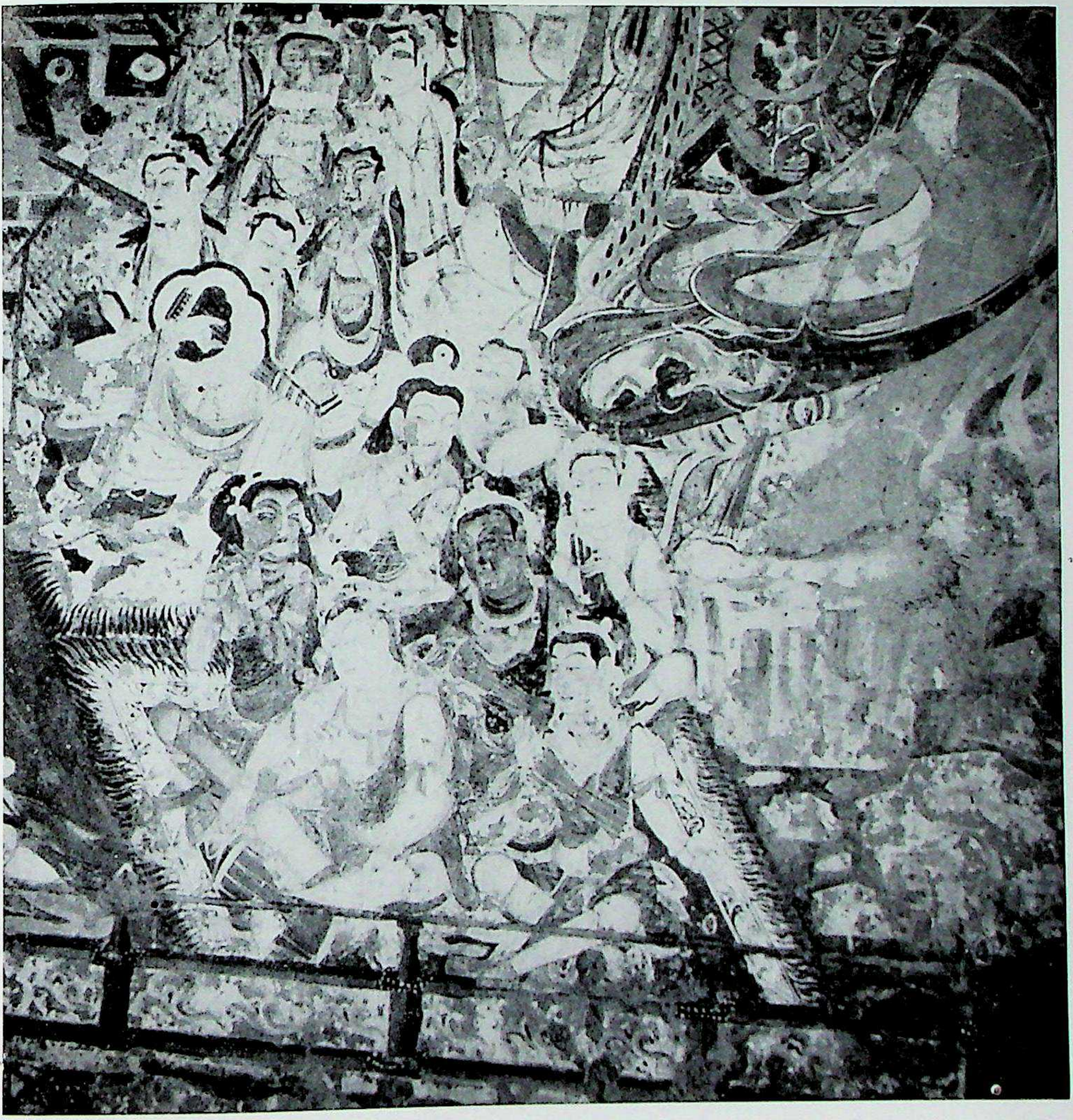
37B. Queen Vaidehī worshipping
Seventh century. Cave 431; P.130



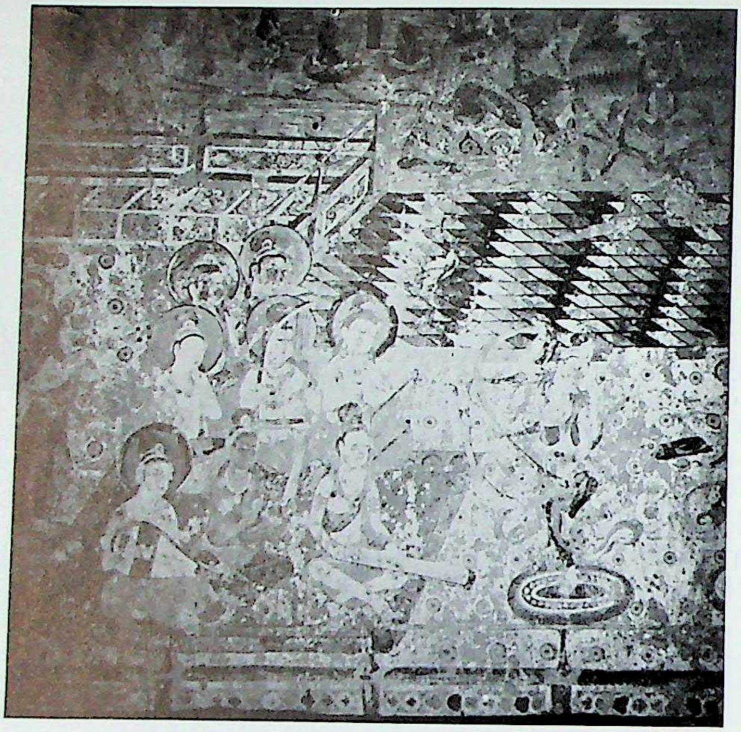
38. The Seven Buddhas of the Past (detail)
Dated A.D. 642. Cave 220
Tun-huang Institute photograph



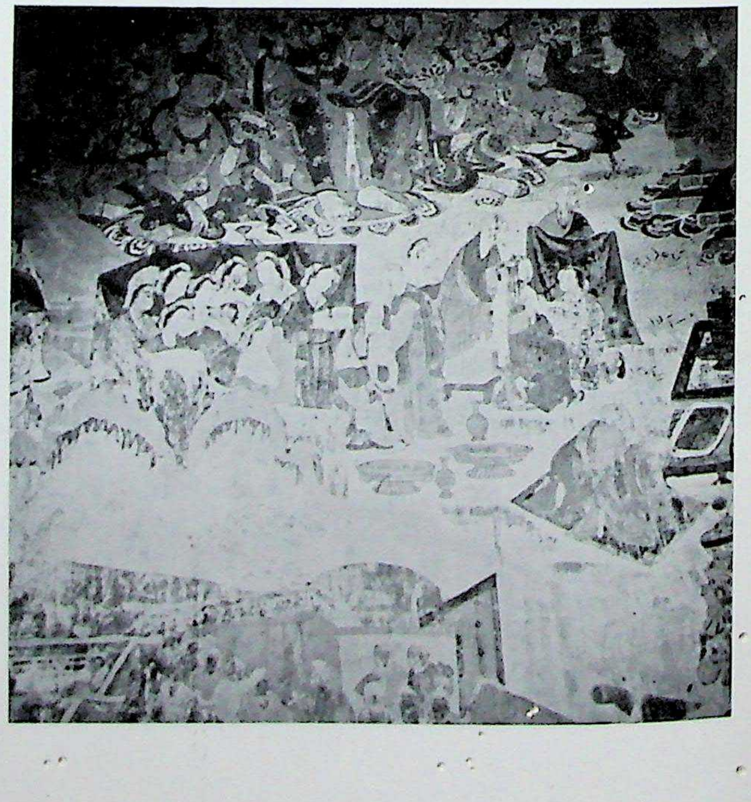
39. Dance and Music in Paradise
Dated A.D. 642. Cave 220



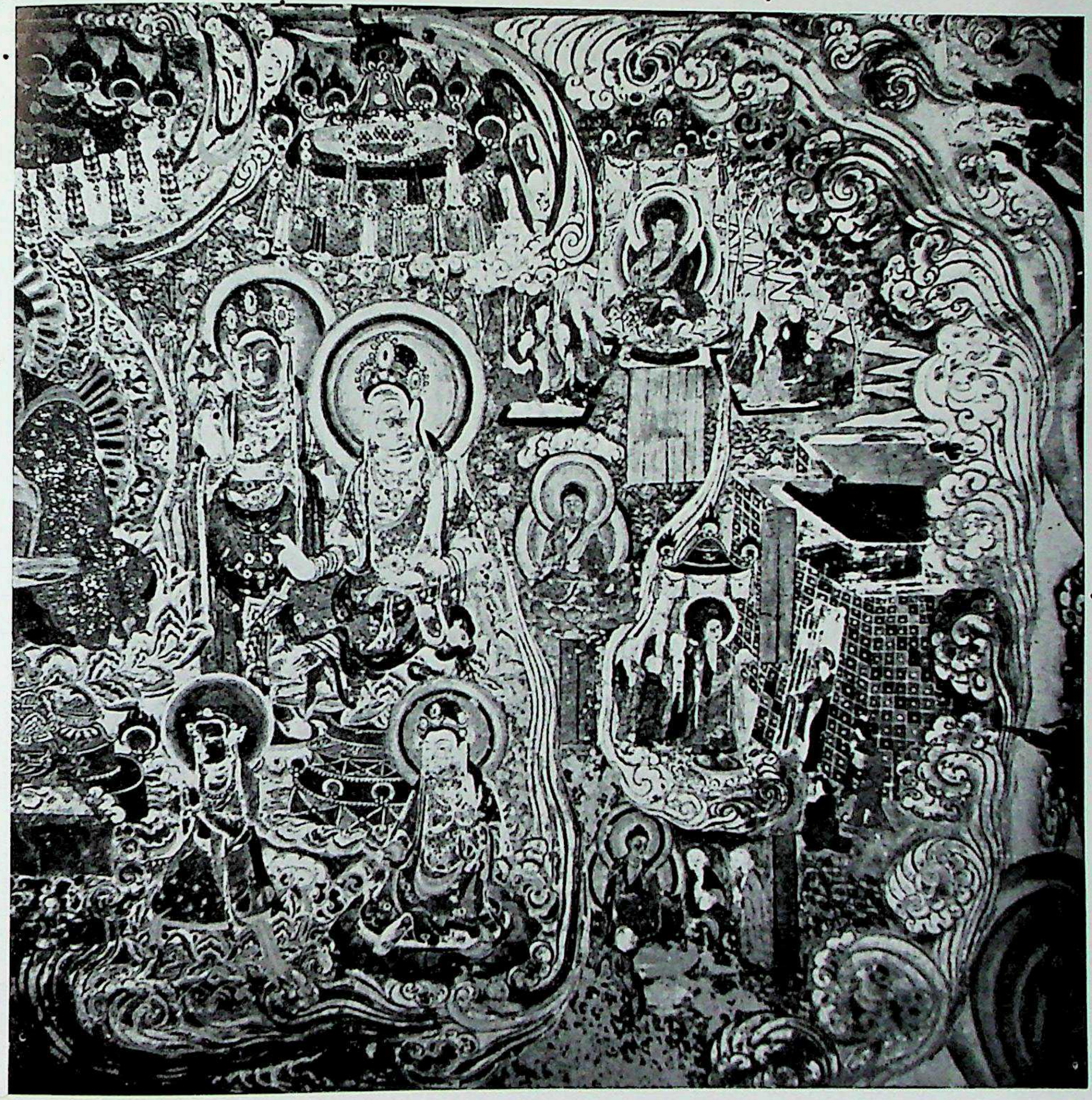
40. Celestial Musicians
Dated A.D. 642. Cave 220



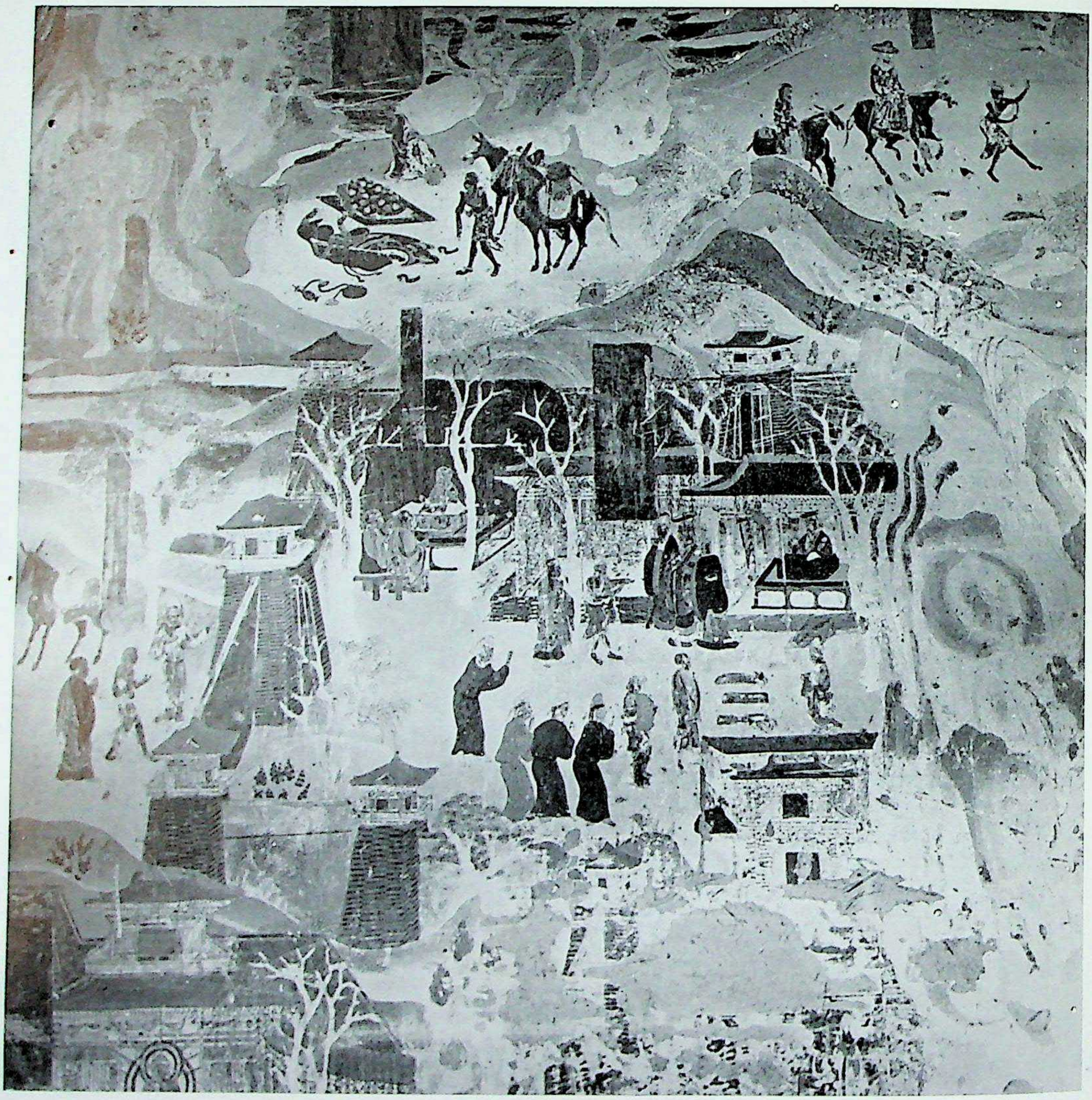
41A. Dancing to a celestial orchestra
Dated A.D. 642. Cave 220



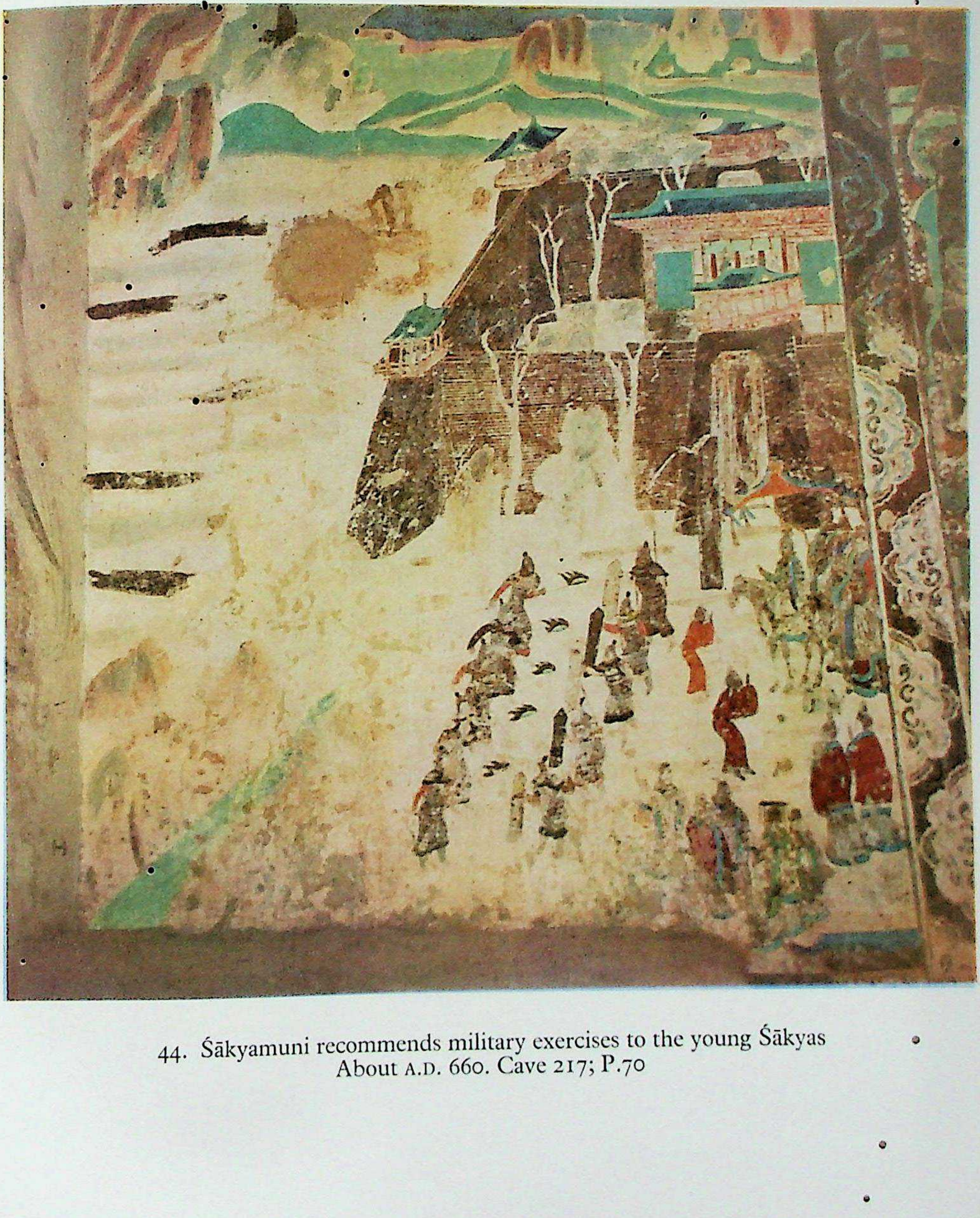
41B. Nuns receiving the tonsure
Seventh century. Cave 445; P.120



42. Amitāyus, Lord of the Pure Land Paradise
About A.D. 660. Cave 217; P.70



43. A Pilgrim on his travels
About A.D. 660. Cave 217; P.70
Tun-huang Institute photograph



44. Śākyamuni recommends military exercises to the young Śākyas
About A.D. 660. Cave 217; P.70

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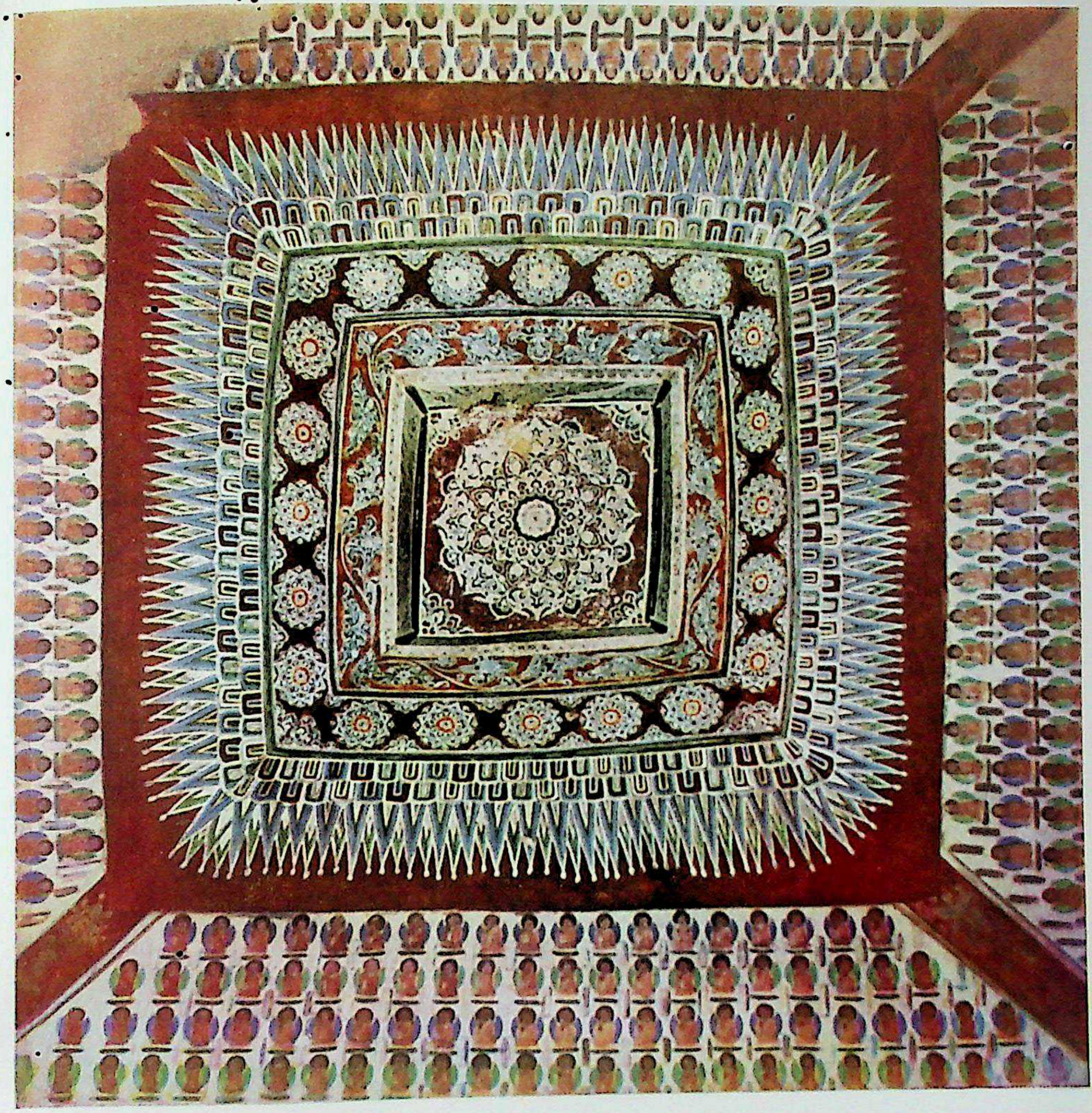
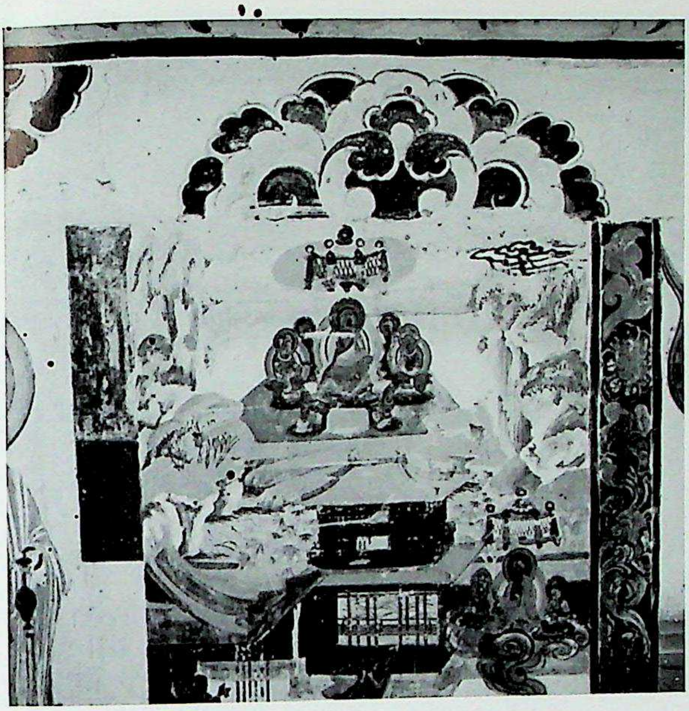
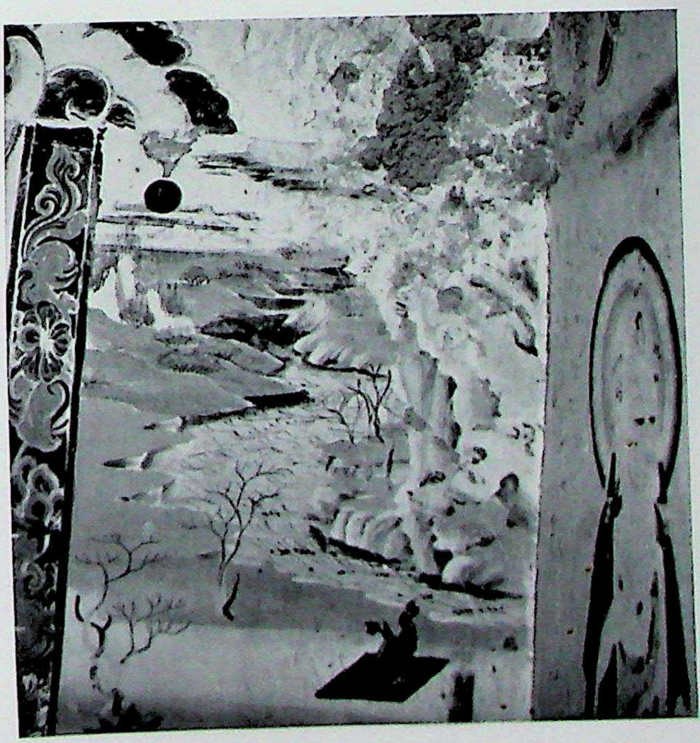
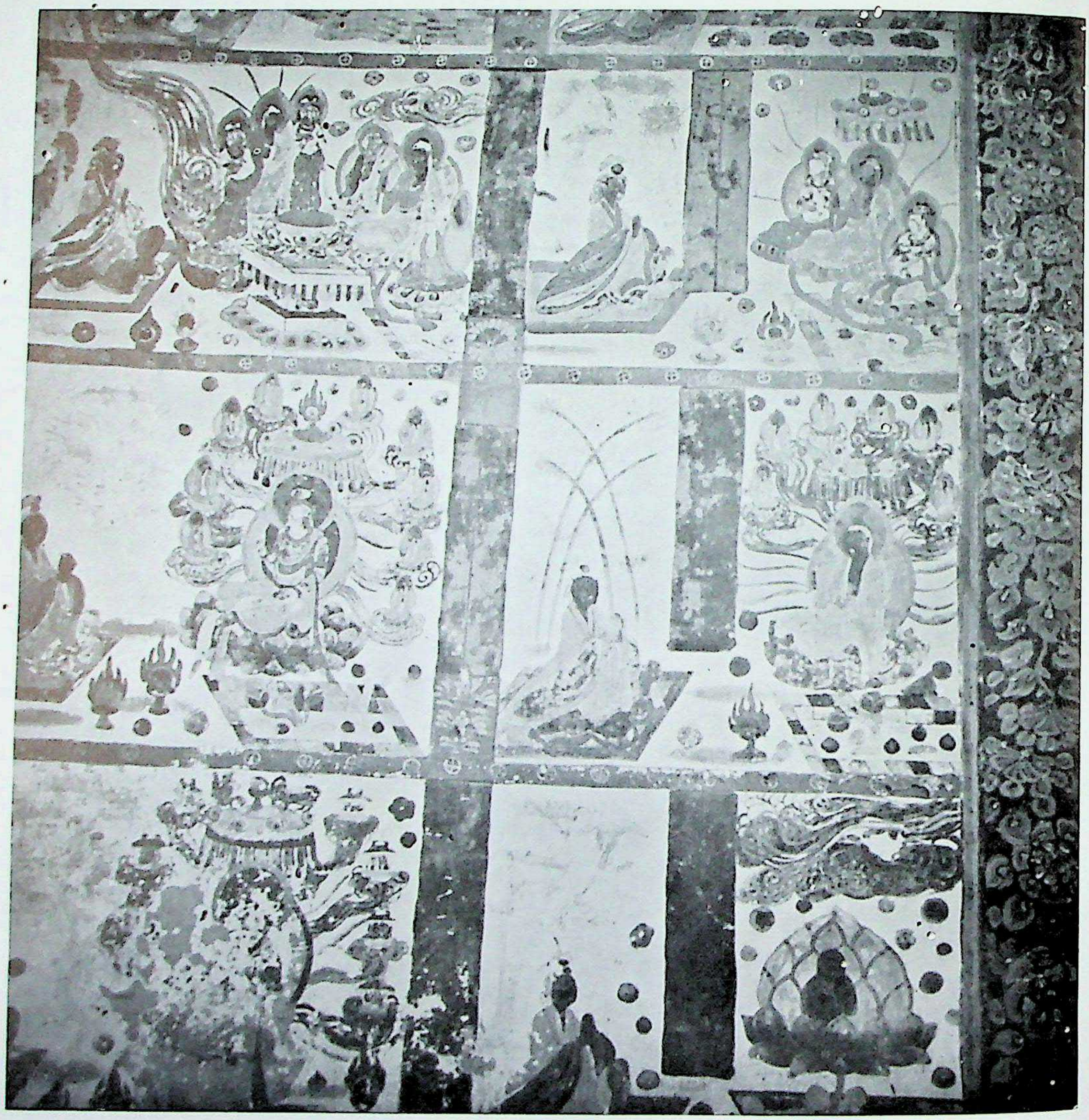


45. Painted vault
About A.D. 660. Cave 217; P.70

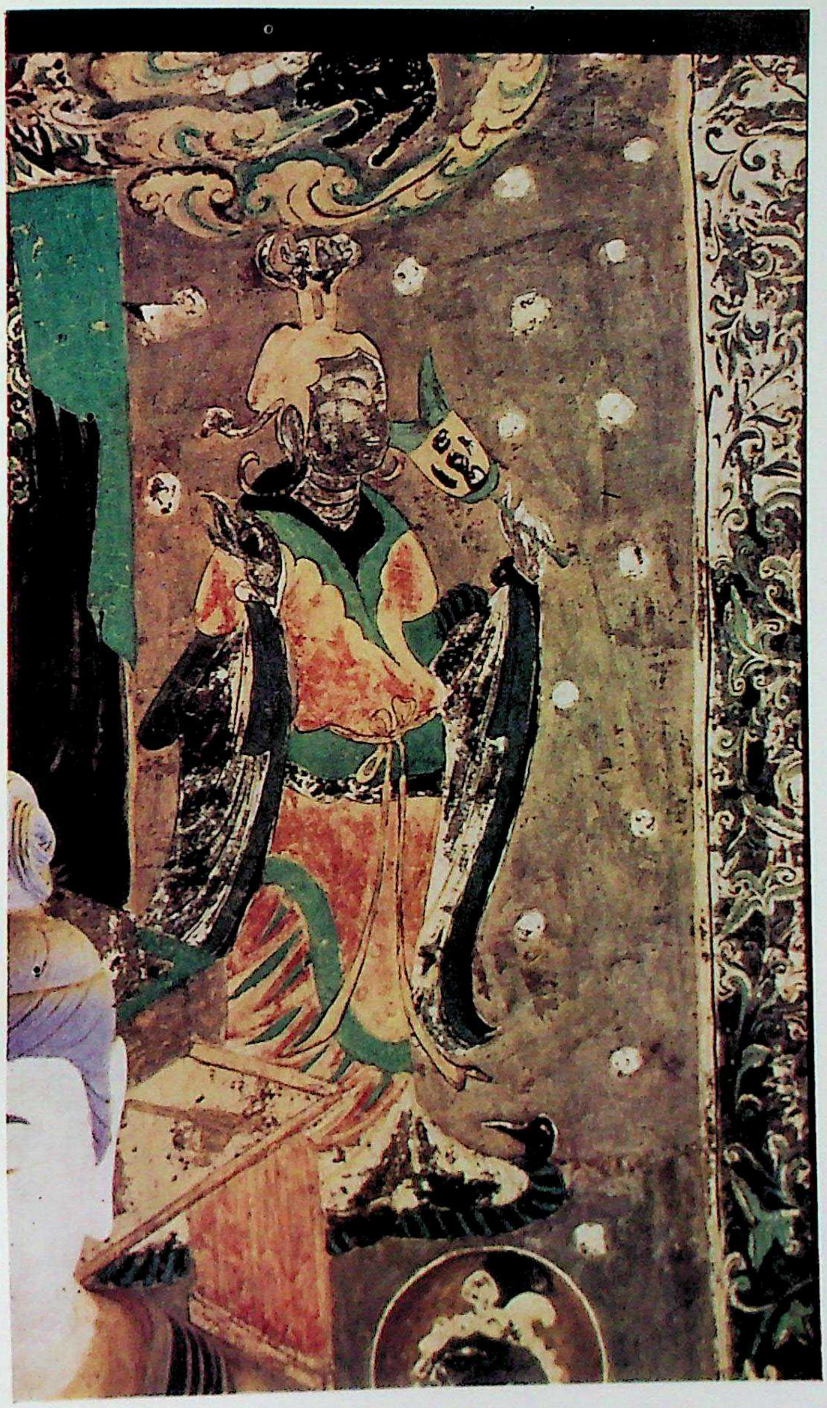


46A and B. Details from the story of Queen Vaidehī
Eighth century. Cave 172; P.33
Tun-huang Institute photographs

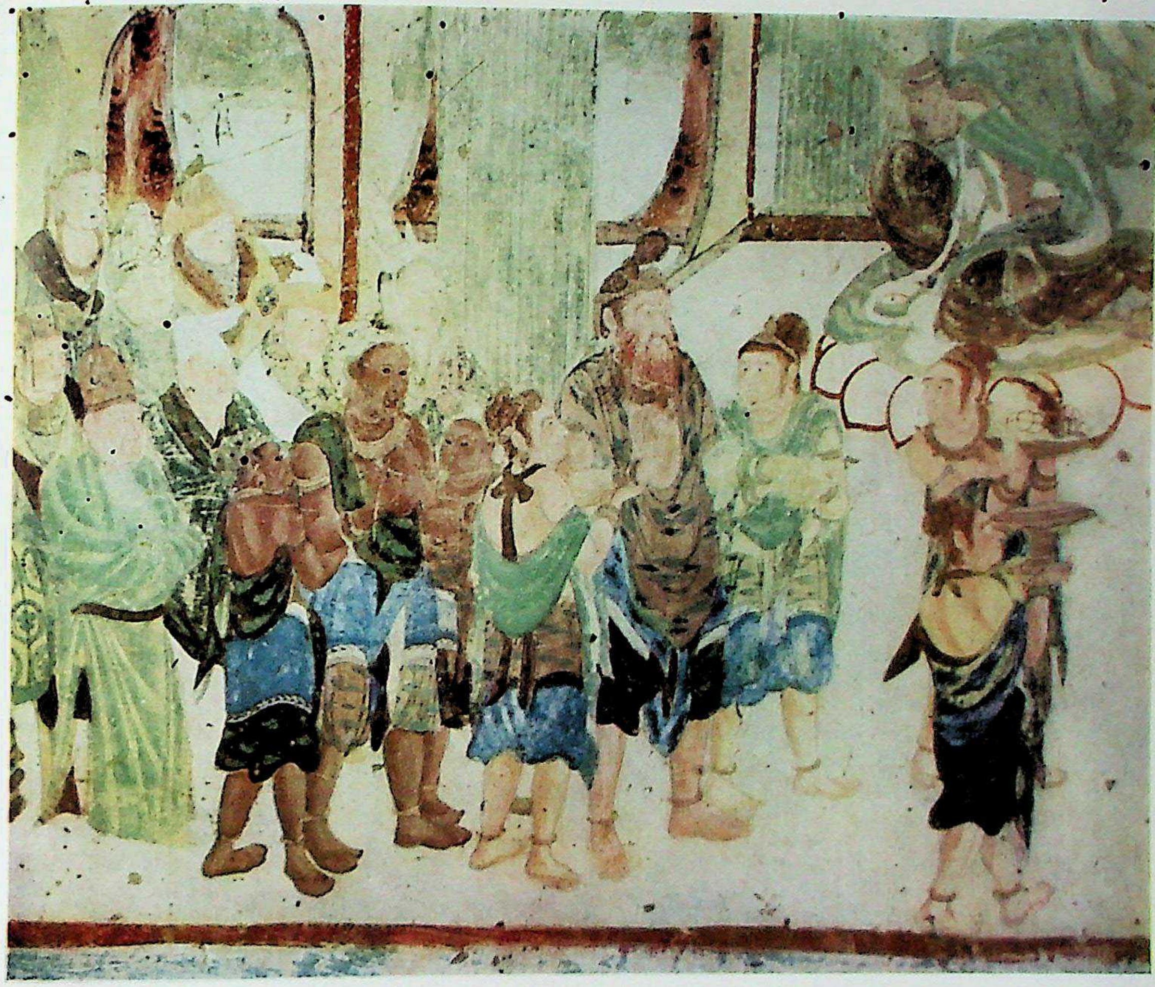




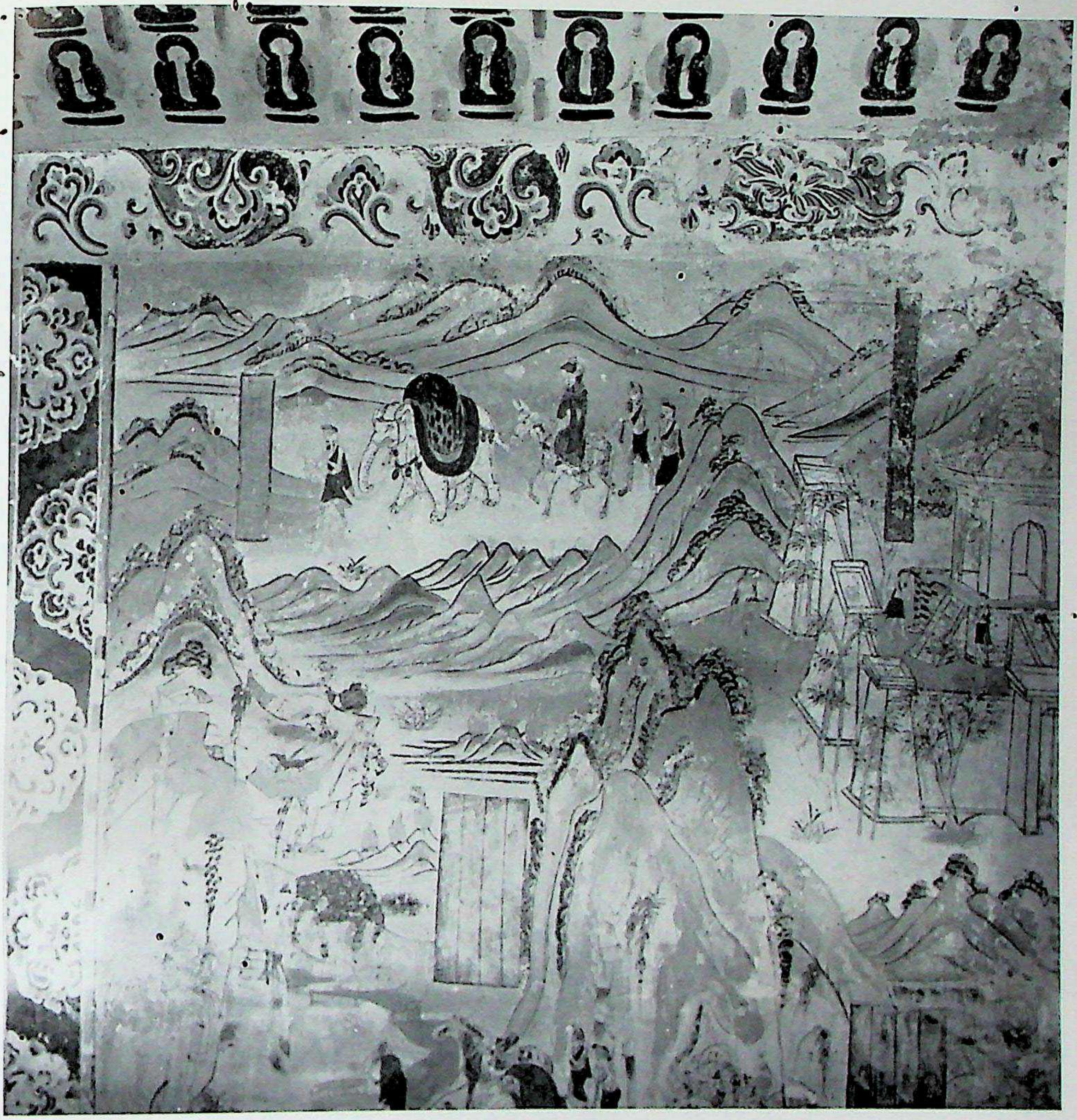
47. The Meditations of Queen Vaidehī
About A.D. 700. Cave 66; P.114



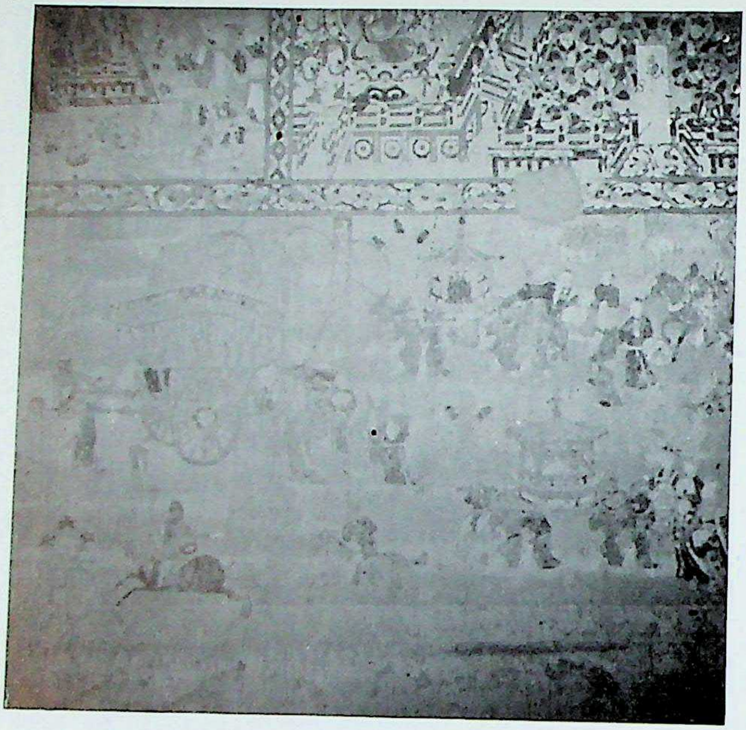
48. Attendant on Vimalakīrti
About 700. Cave 334 P.148. *Tun-huang Institute photograph*



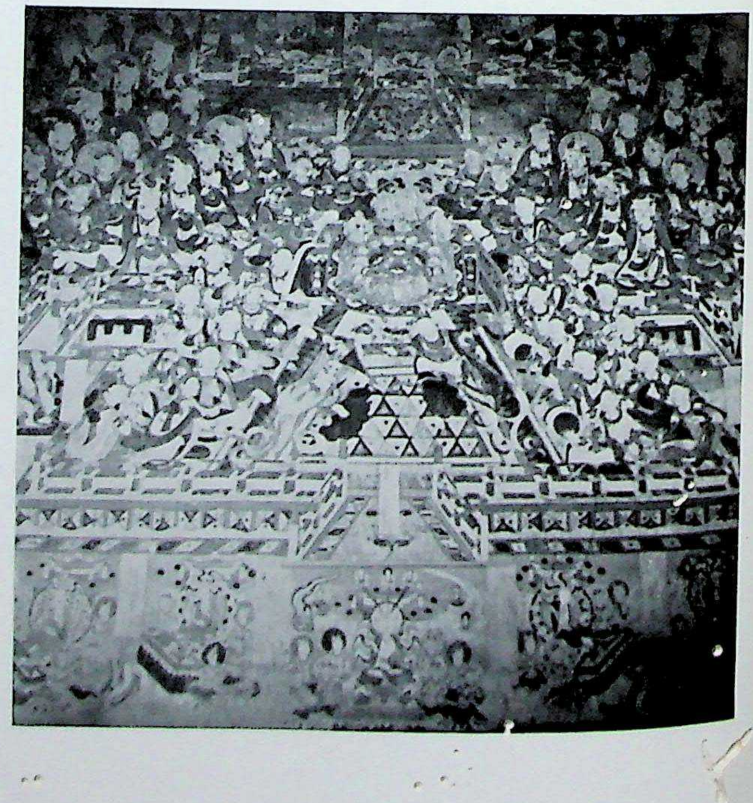
49. Important people in Vimalakīrtī's entourage
First half of eighth century. Cave 194; P.51E



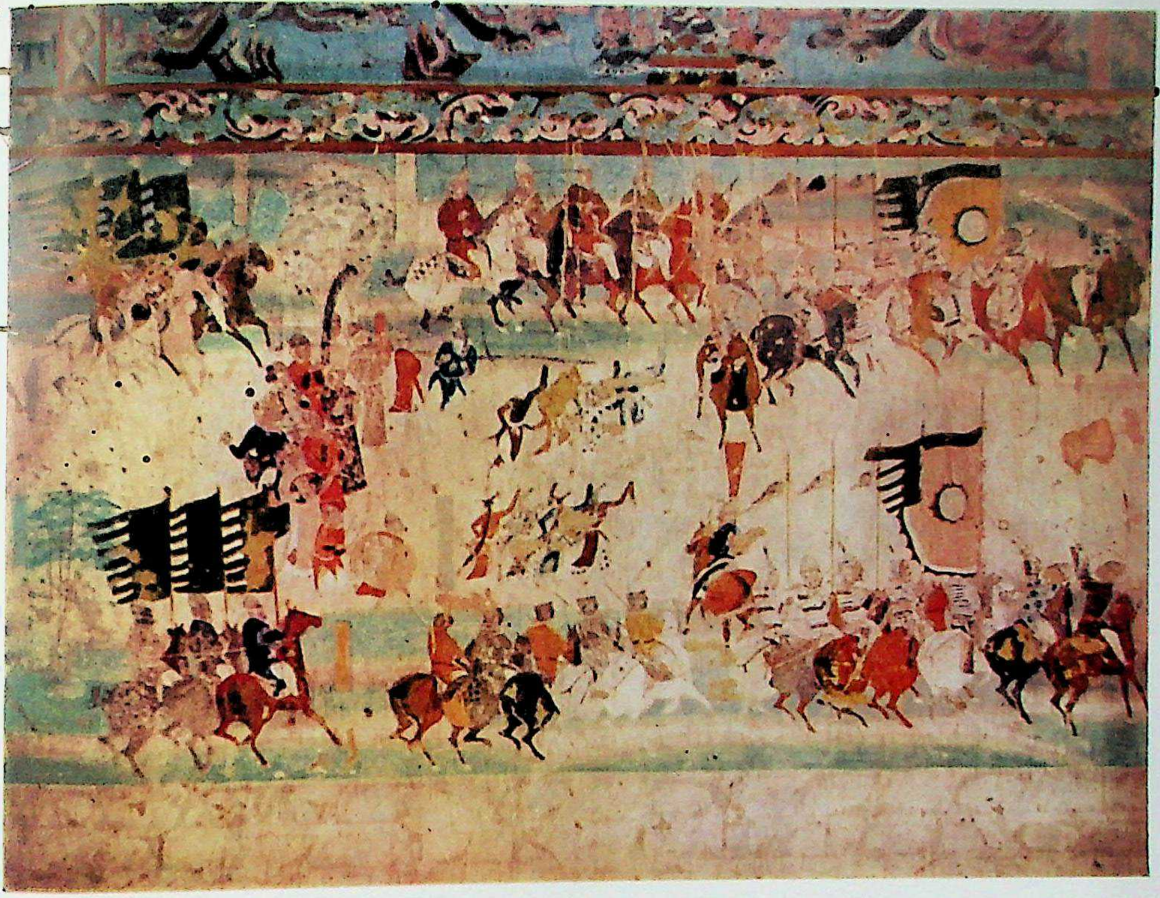
50. Hsüan Tsang on the way to India
Early eighth century. Cave 103; P.54
Tun-huang Institute photograph



51A. The Lady Sung's Procession
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156
P.17 bis



51B. Paradise of Bhaishajyaguru
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156
P.17 bis



52. Chang I-ch'ao's procession
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis

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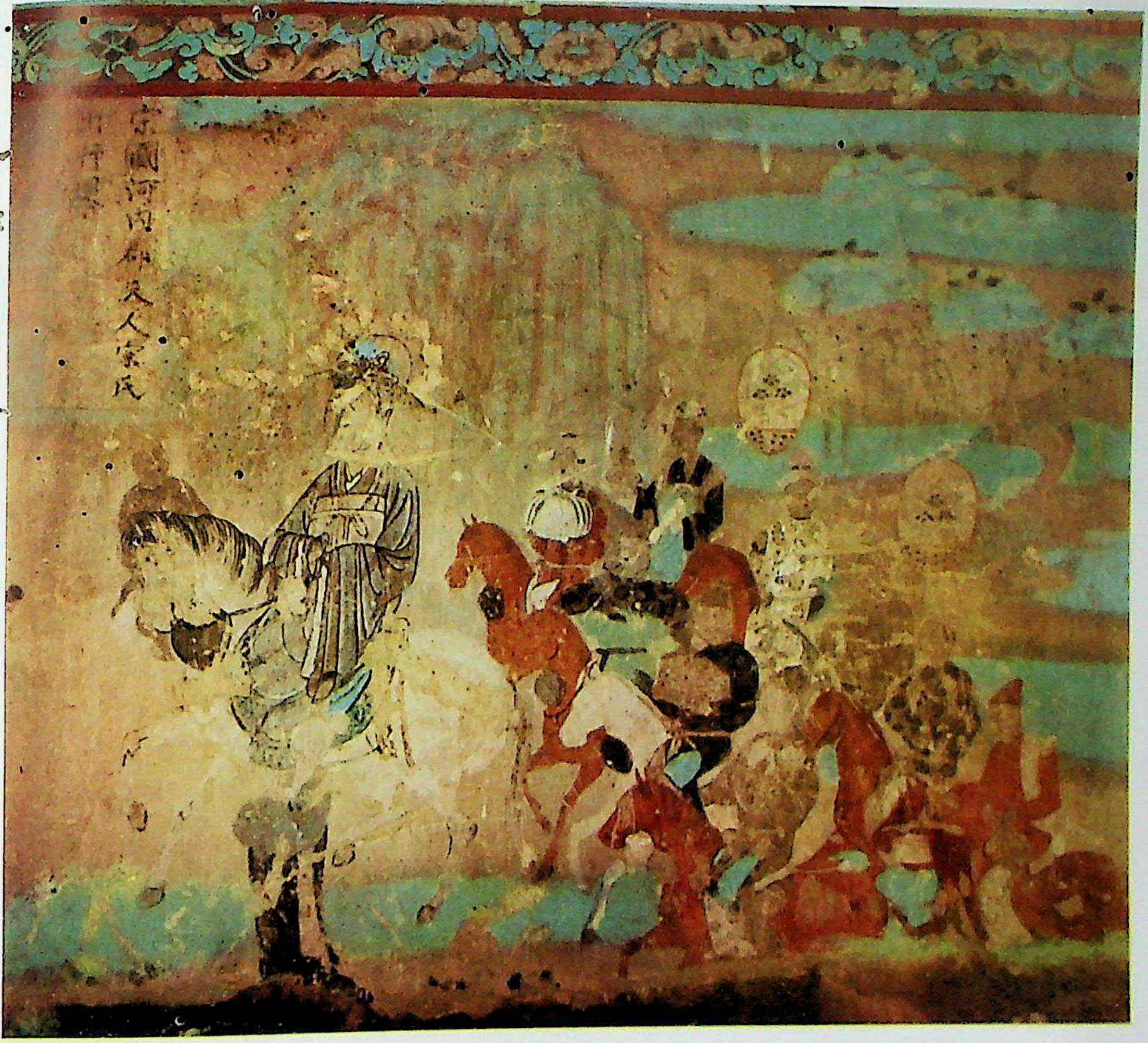
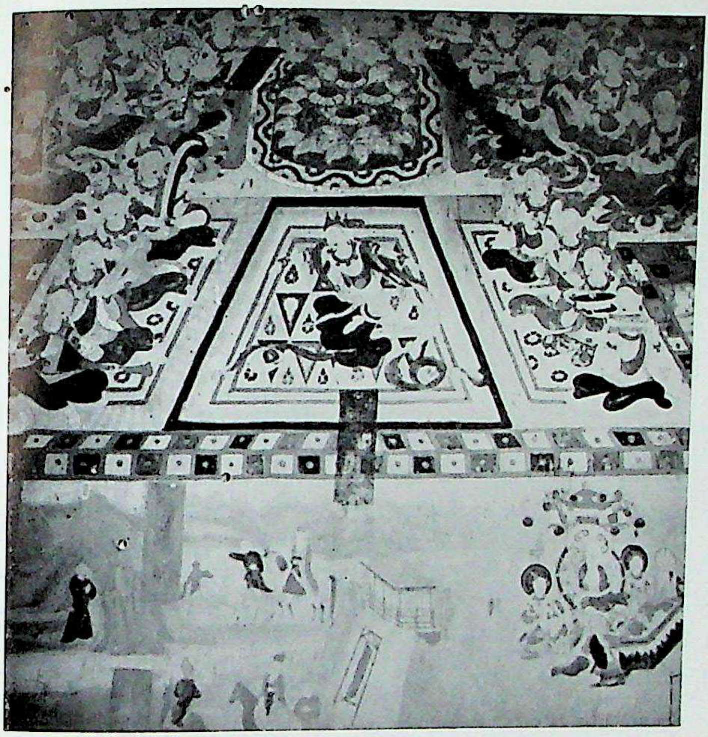
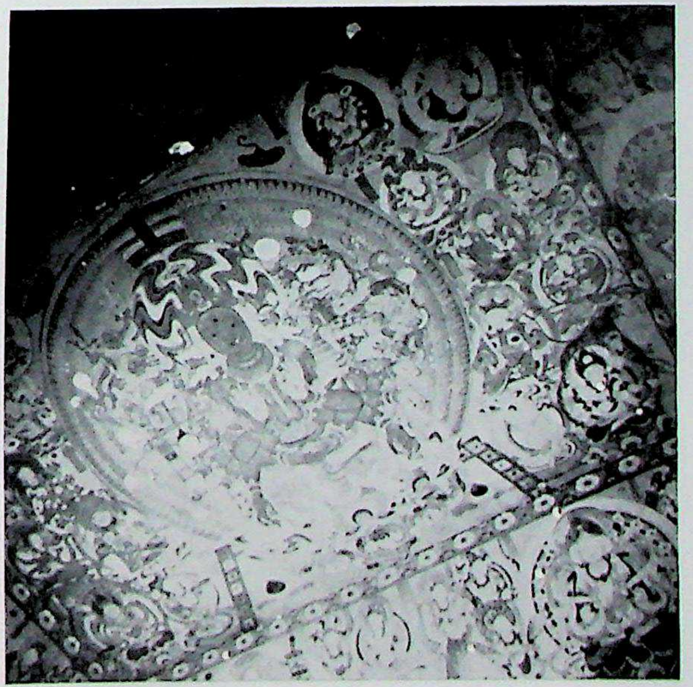


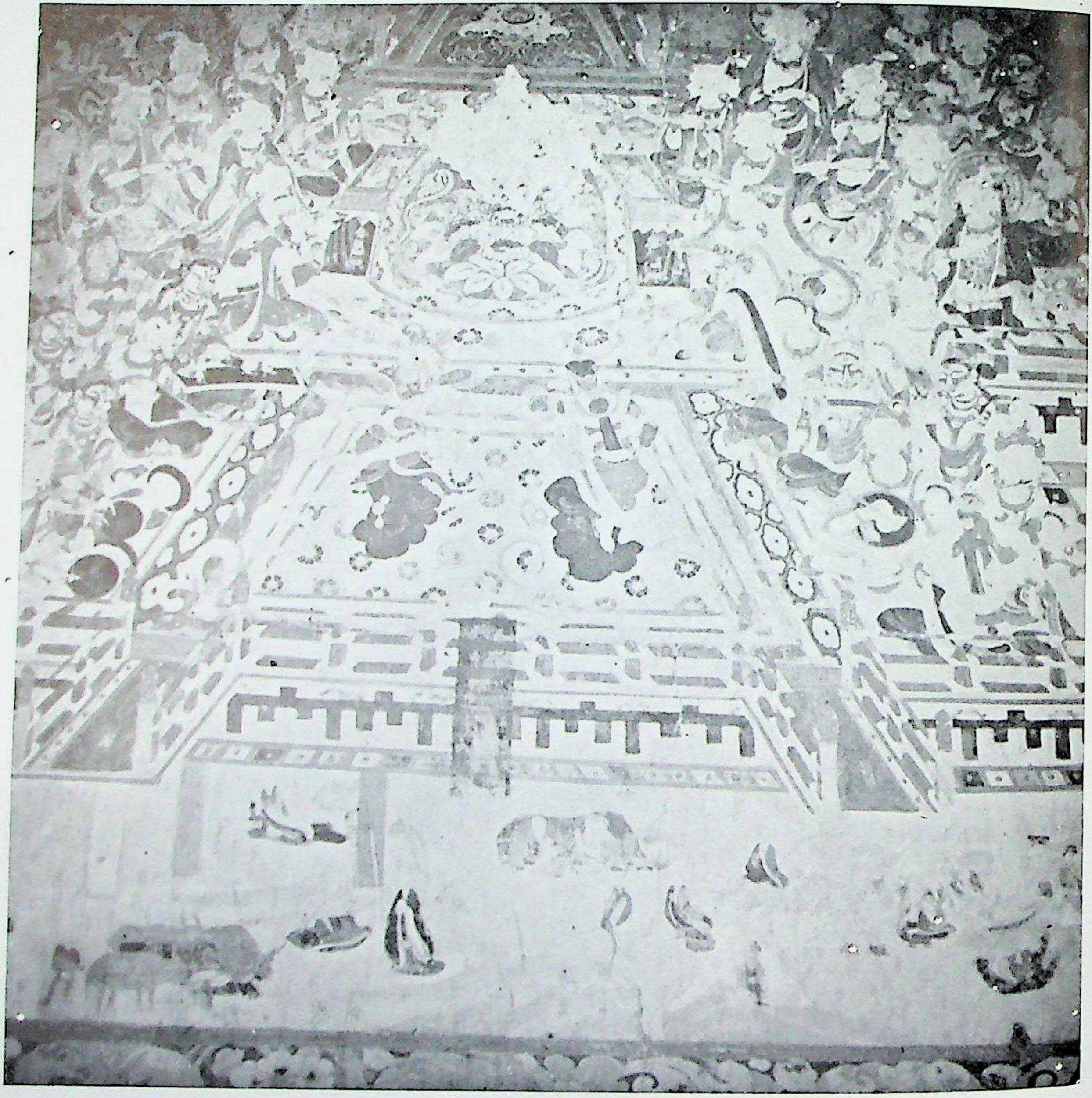
53. Lady Sung at the head of her procession
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis



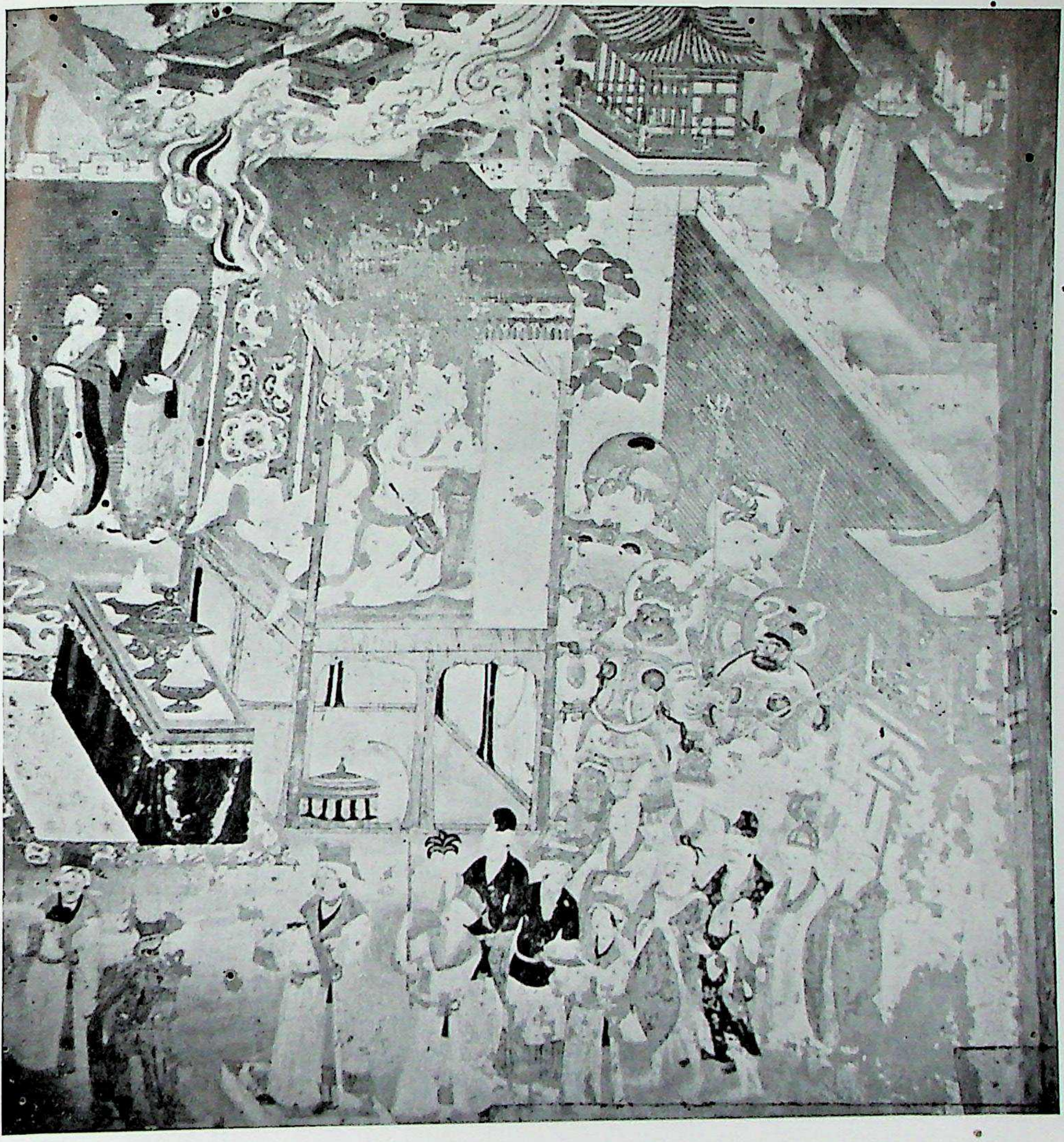
54A. Paradise of Śākyamuni
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis



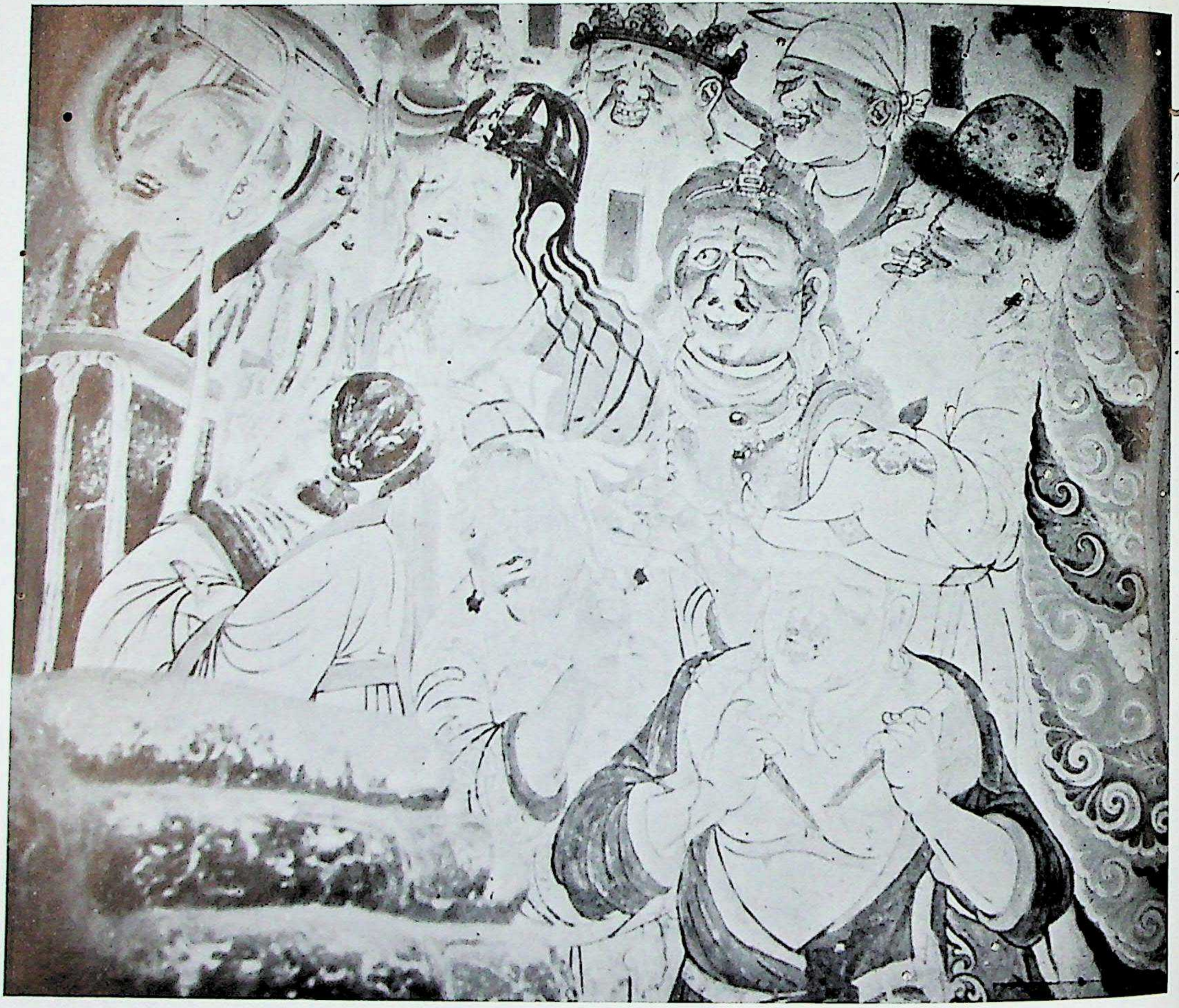
54B. Thousand-armed Avalokiteśvara
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis



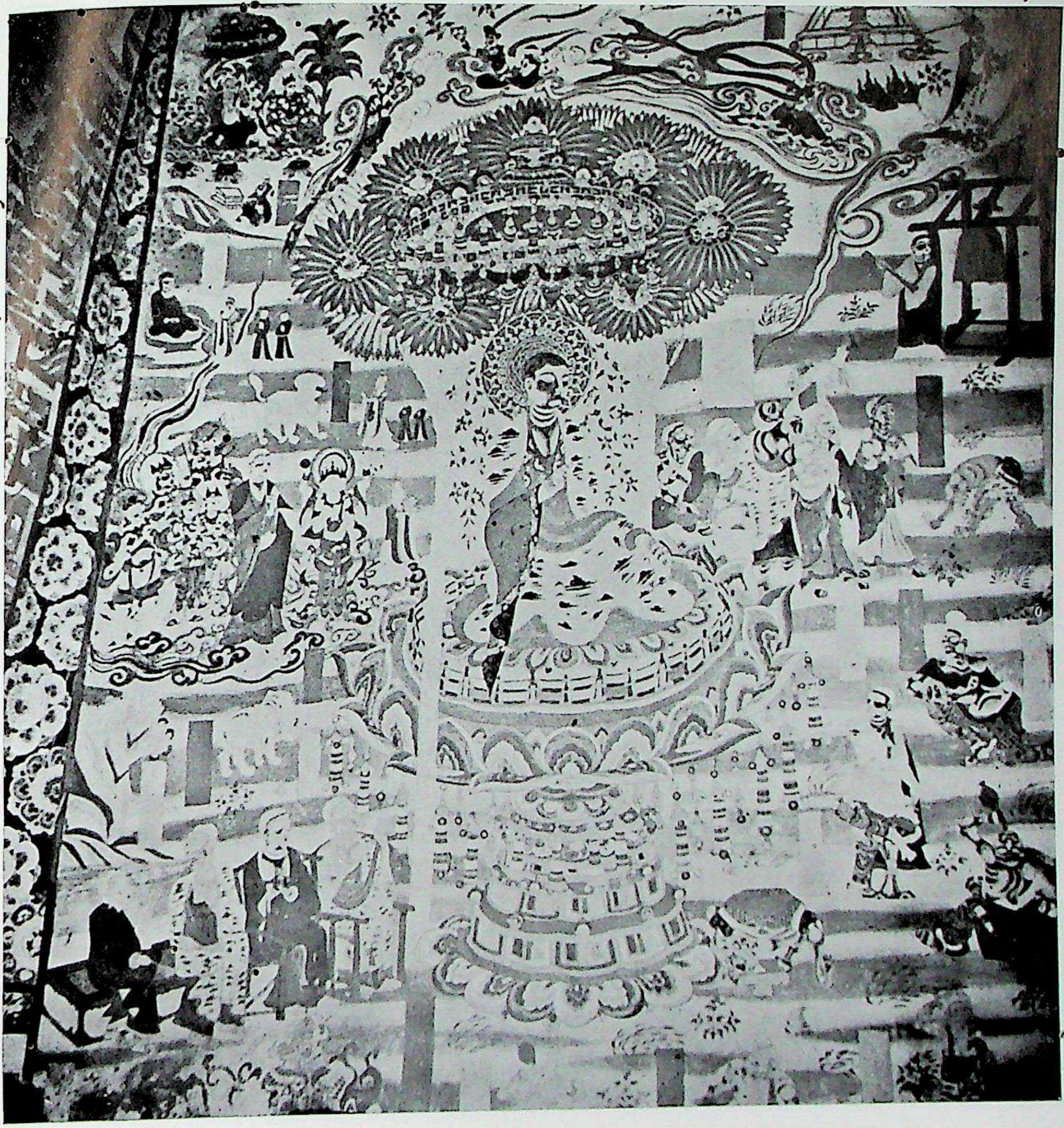
55. Paradise of Maitreya
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis



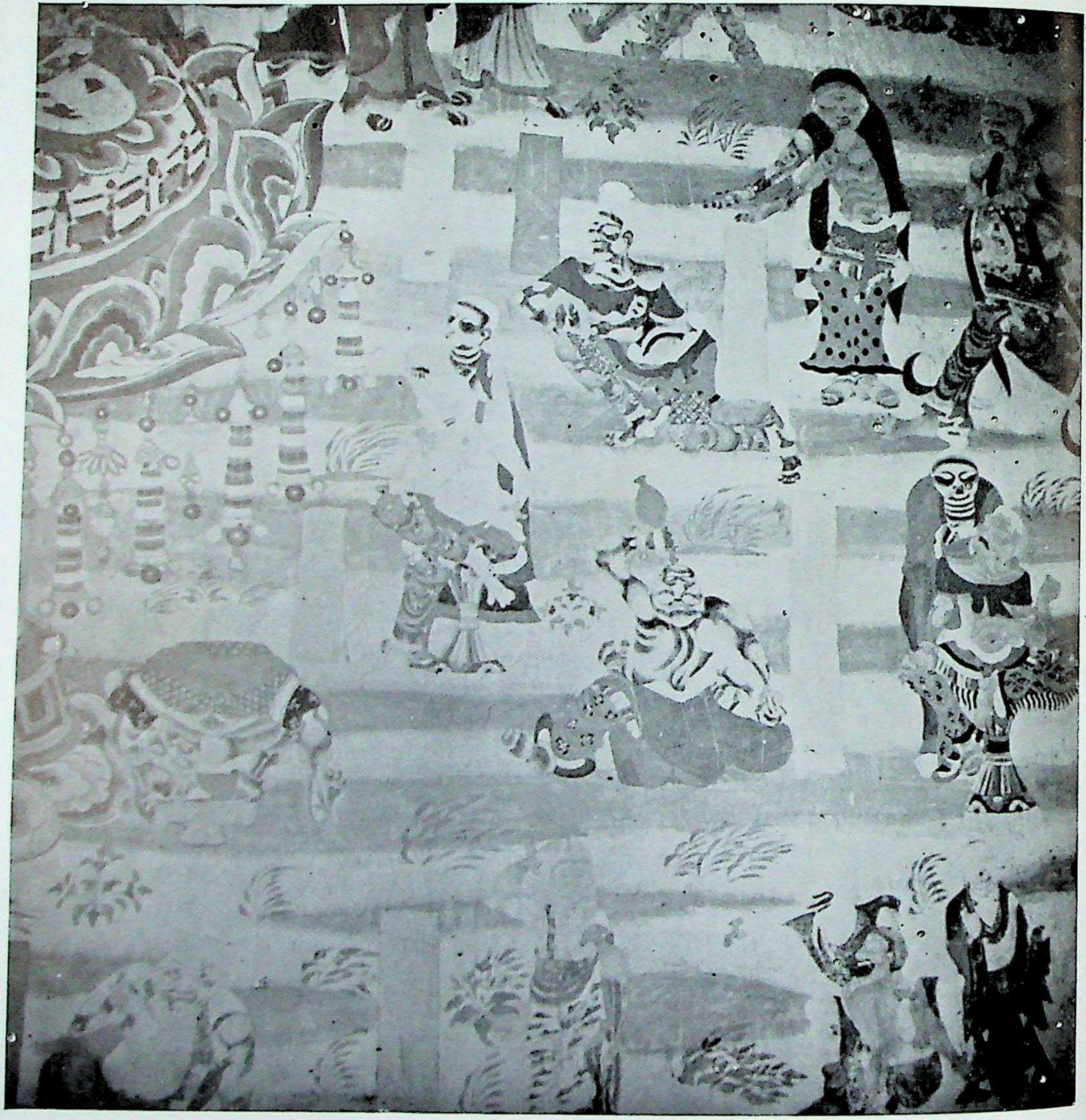
56. Vimalakīrtī and his entourage
Mid-ninth century. Cave 156; P.17 bis



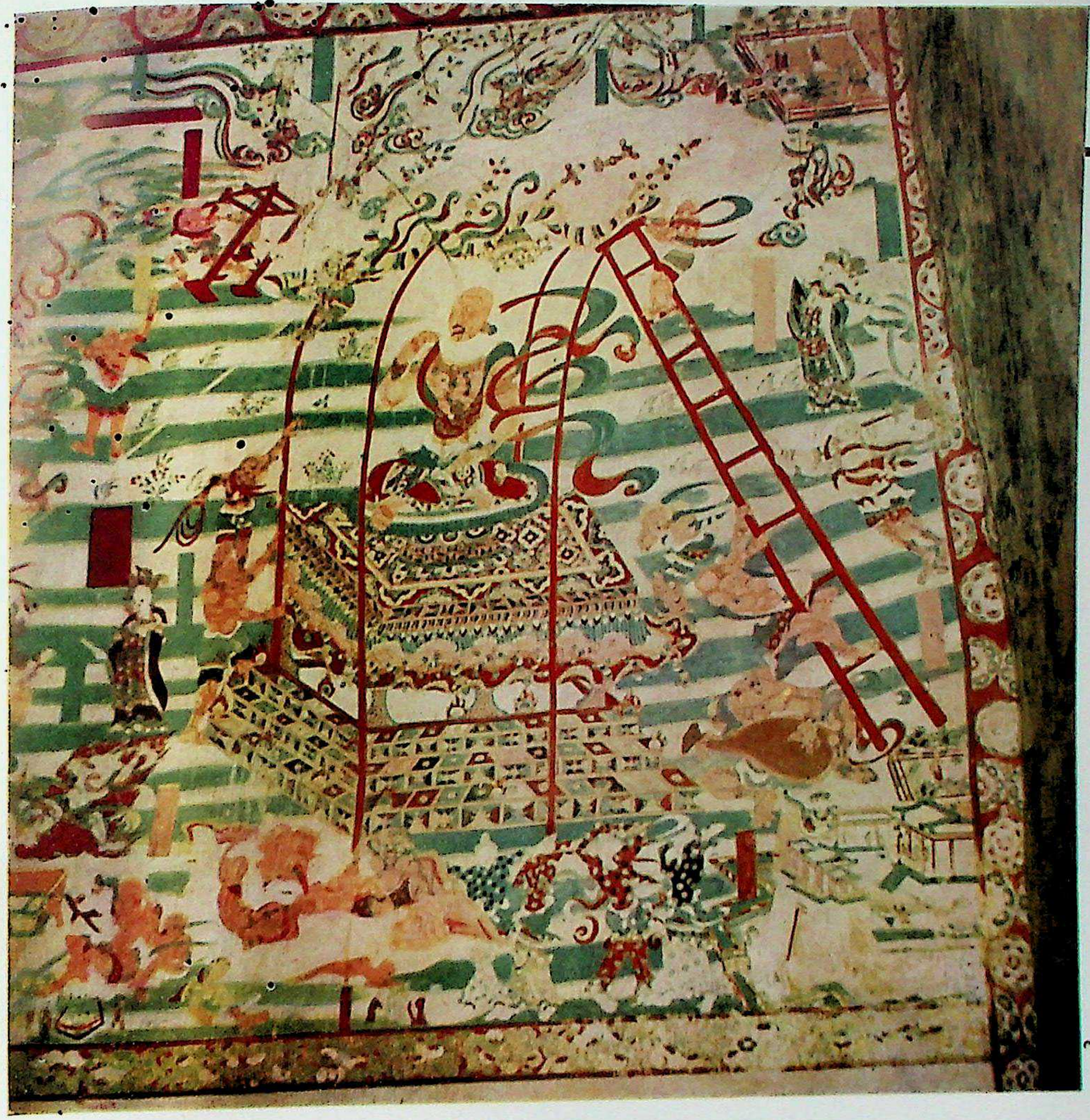
57. Mourners of all countries at the Nirvāna of the Buddha
Ninth century. Cave 158; P.19 bis



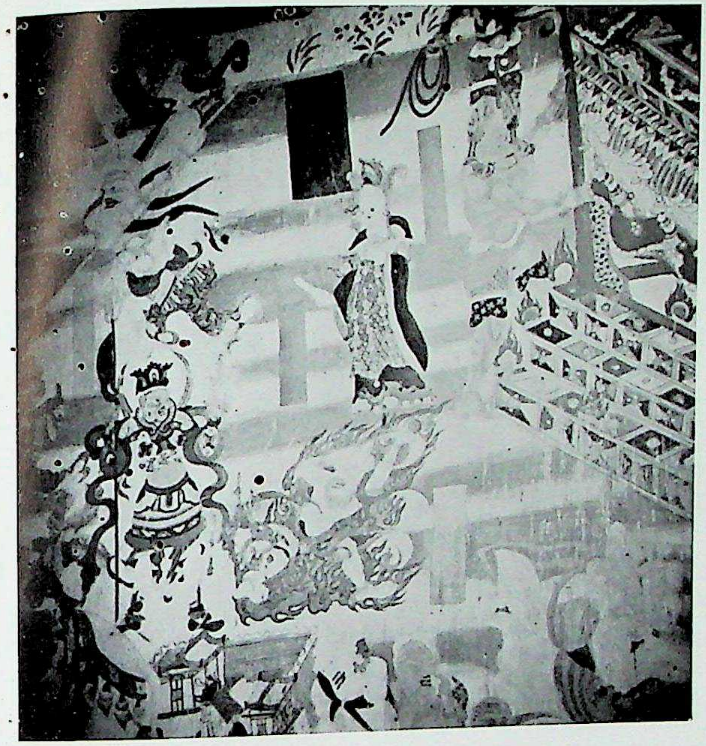
58. Śāriputra and his supporters against Raudrāksha
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



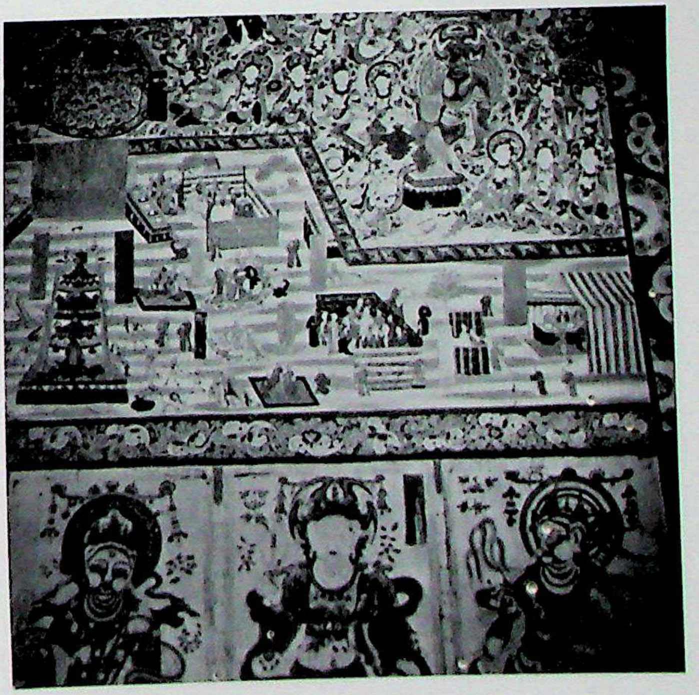
59. Detail of Śāriputra's supporters miming
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



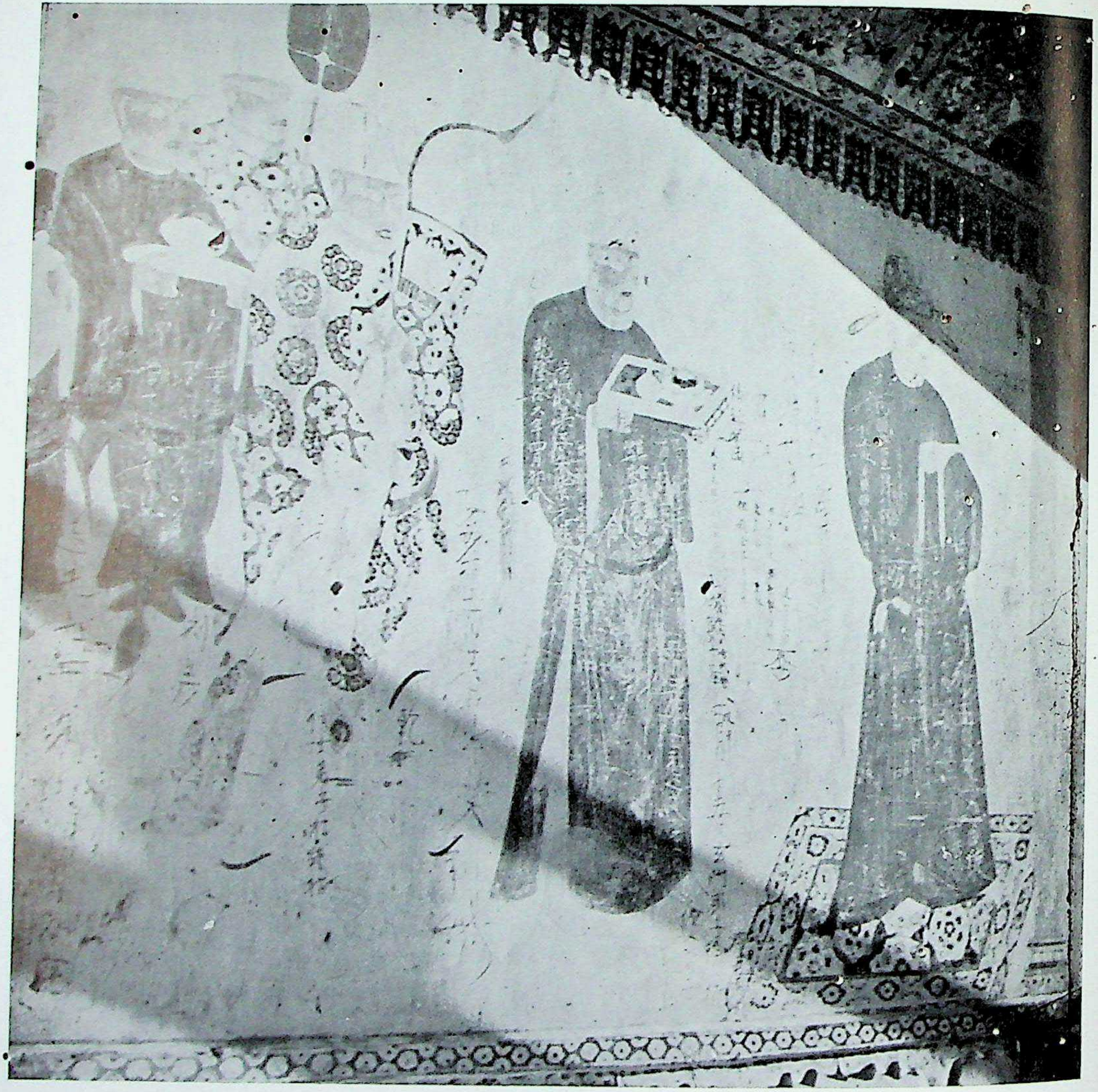
60. Raudrāksha swept by the storm raised by Śāriputra
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



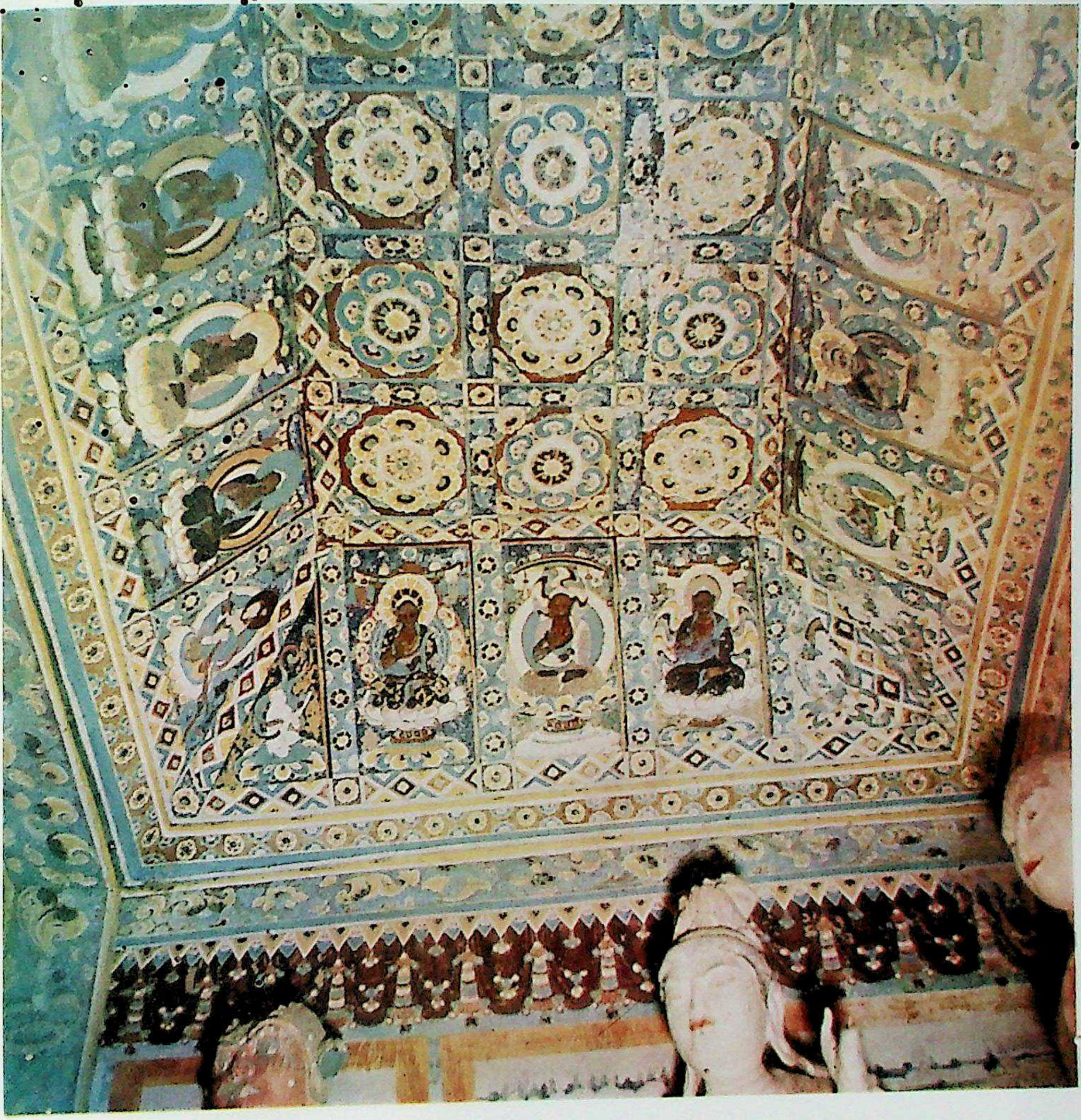
61A. Detail from the contest of Raudrāksha and Śāriputra; a Lokapāla opposes a Yaksha
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



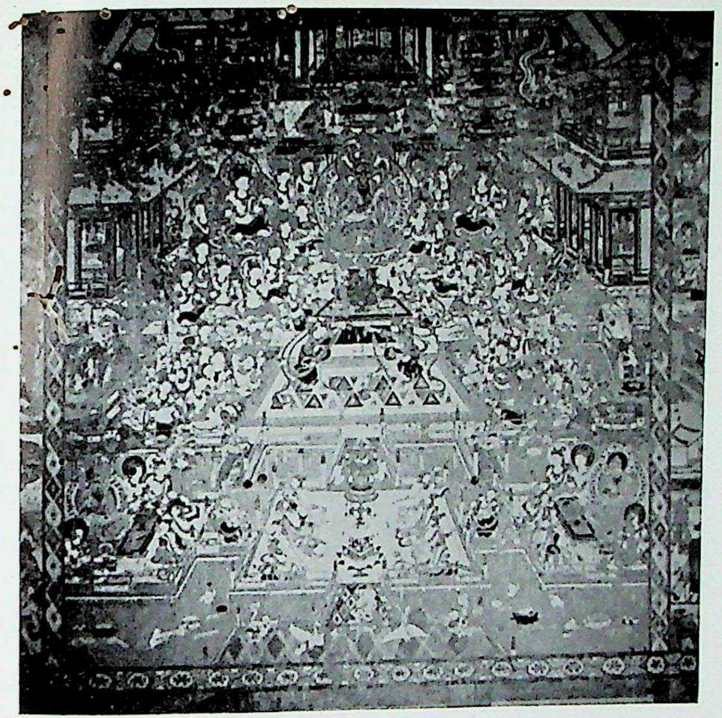
61B. Demolition of the jewelled stūpa before the throne of Maitreya
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



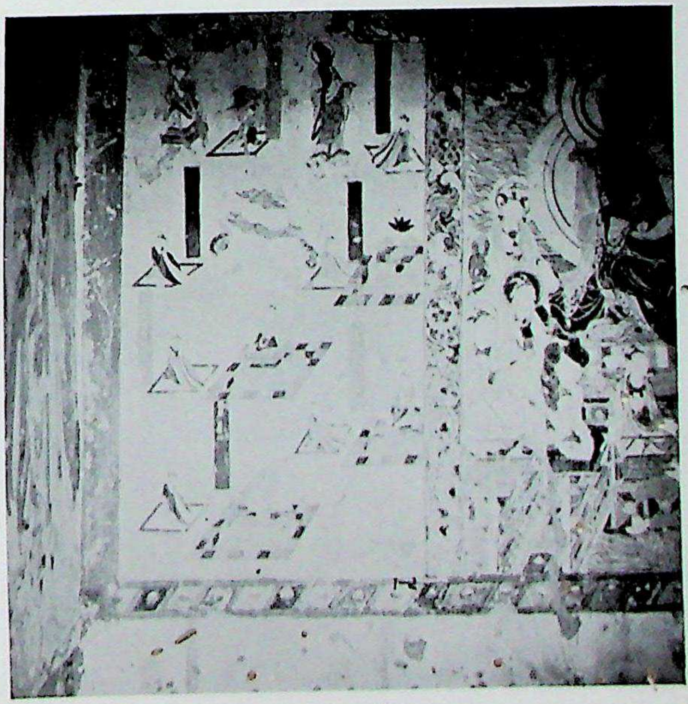
62. The Donor's Procession
About A.D. 900. Cave 196; P.63



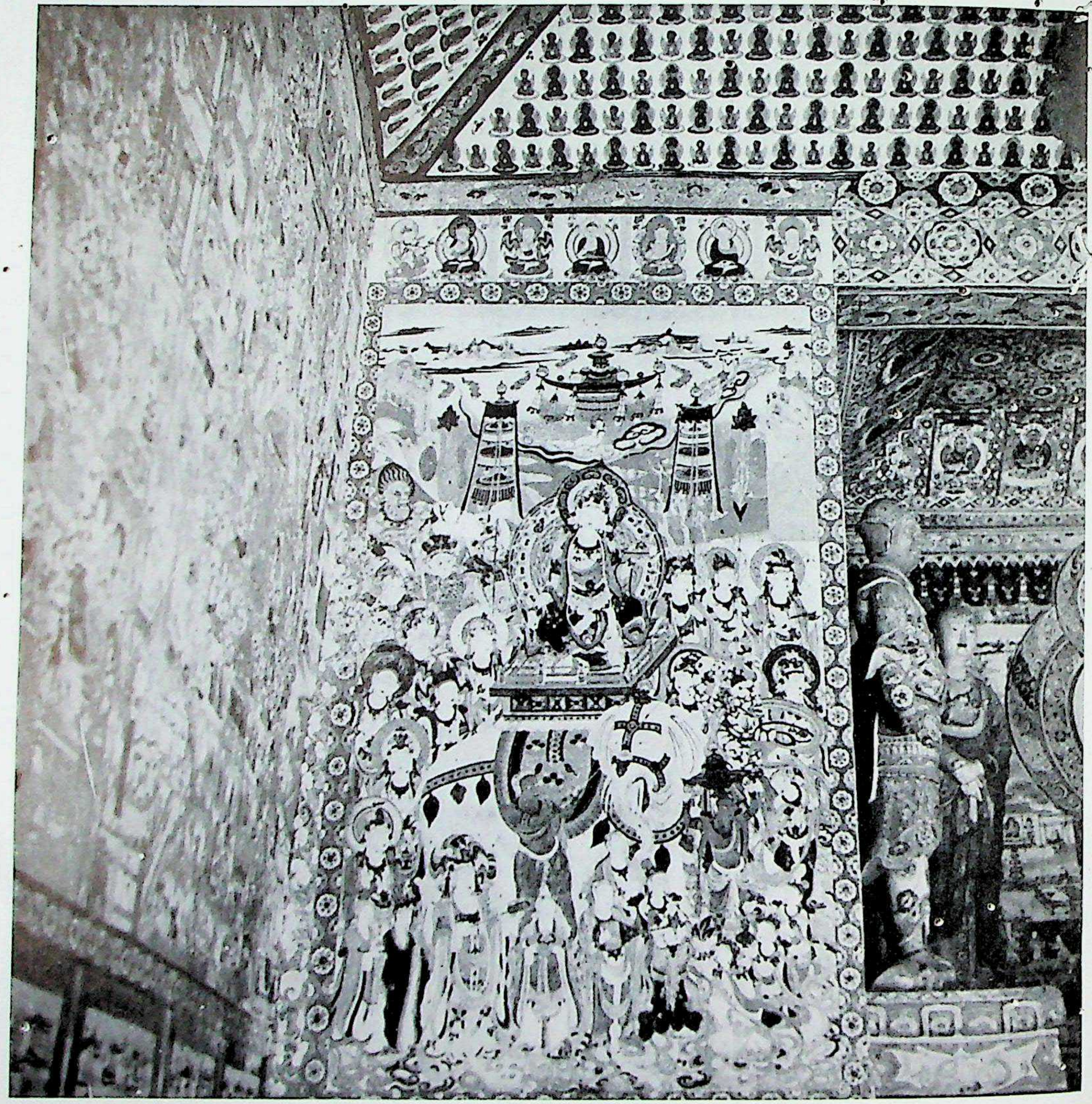
63. The painted vault of Cave 159
About A.D. 900. P.21 bis



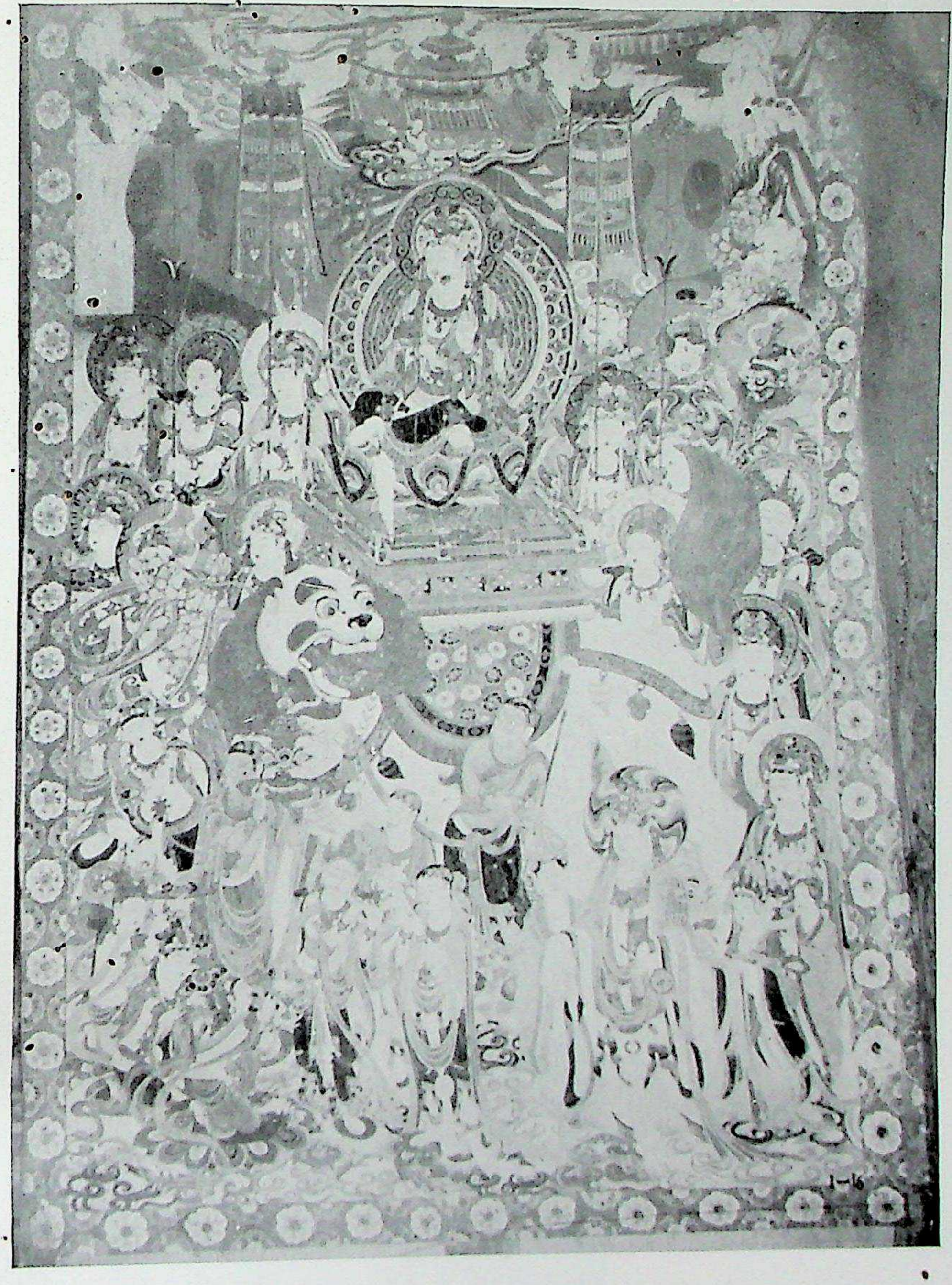
64A. Sukhāvatī, the Paradise of Amitābha
About A.D. 900. Cave 159; P.21 bis



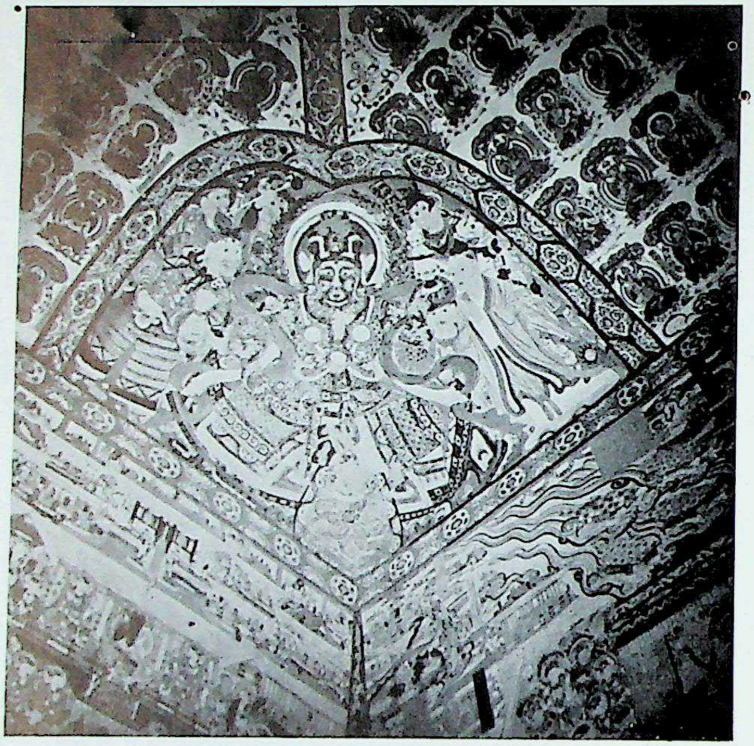
64B. The Meditations of Queen Vaidehī
Eighth century. Cave 172; P.33



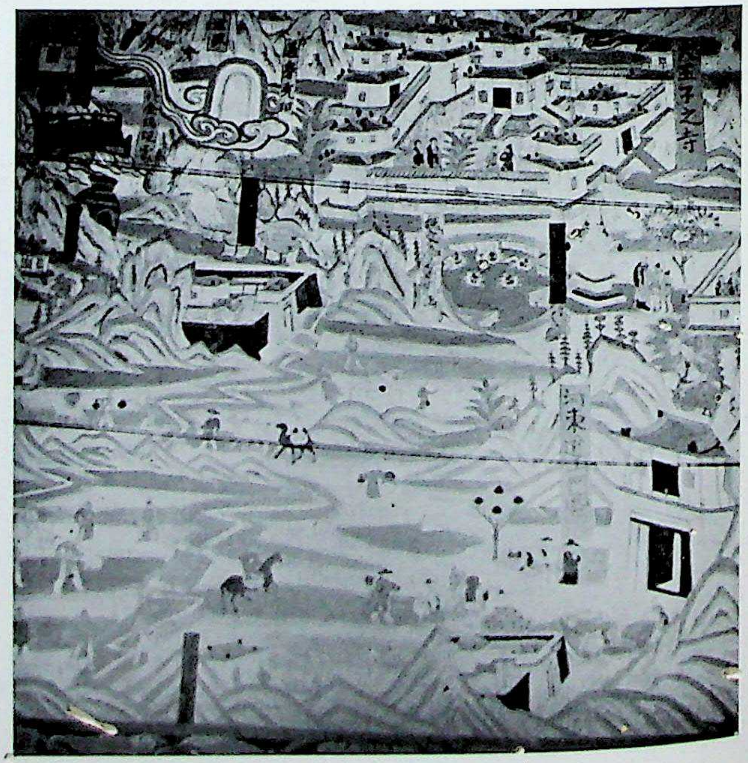
65. Samantabhadra on his elephant
About A.D. 900. Cave 159; P.21 bis



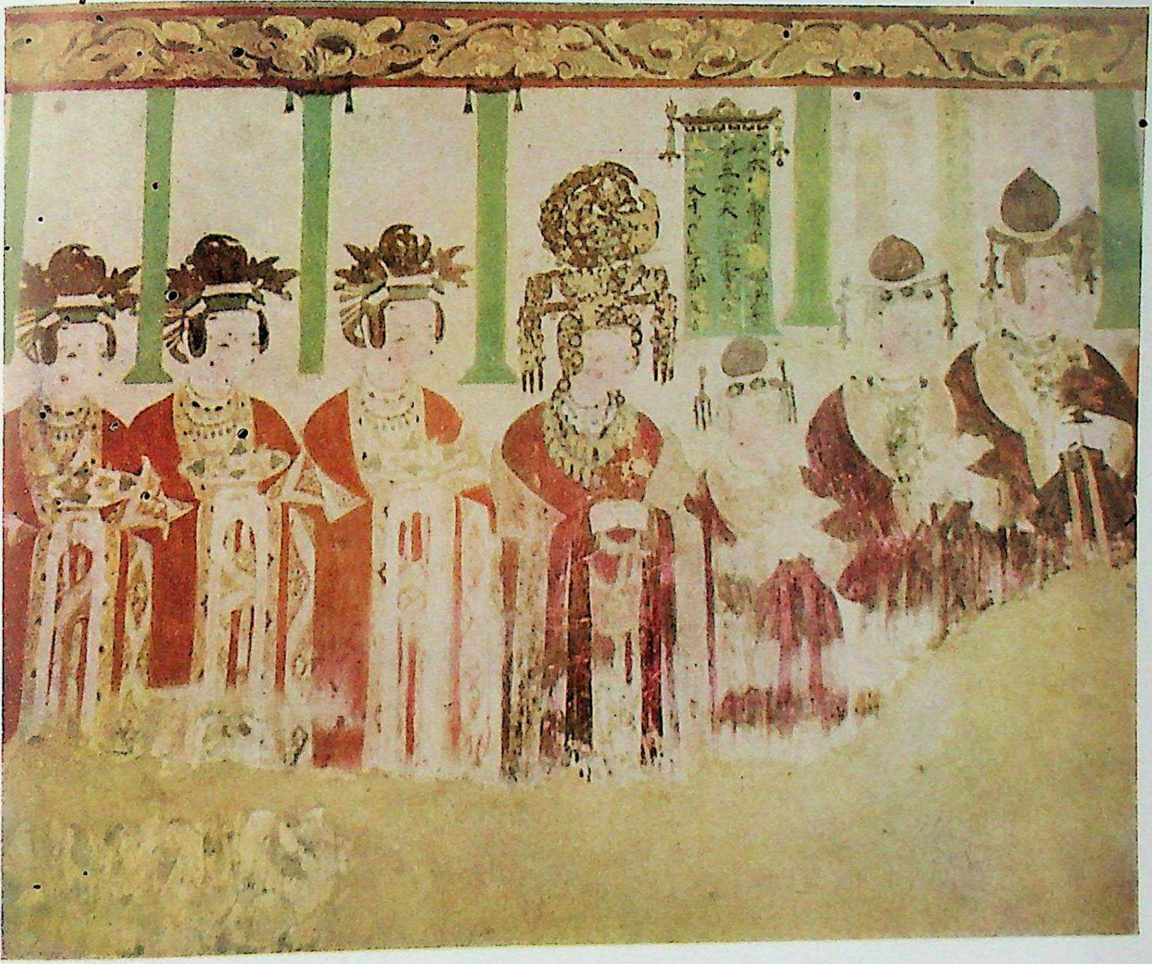
66. Manjuśrī on his lion
About A.D. 900. Cave 159; P.21 bis



67A. Vaiśravāna, Guardian of the North
Early Sung, A.D. 980–95. Cave 61;
P. 117



67B. Panorama of Wu T'ai-shan
A.D. 980–95. Cave 61; P. 117



68. The Princess of Khotan
A.D. 980–1001. Cave 61; P.117

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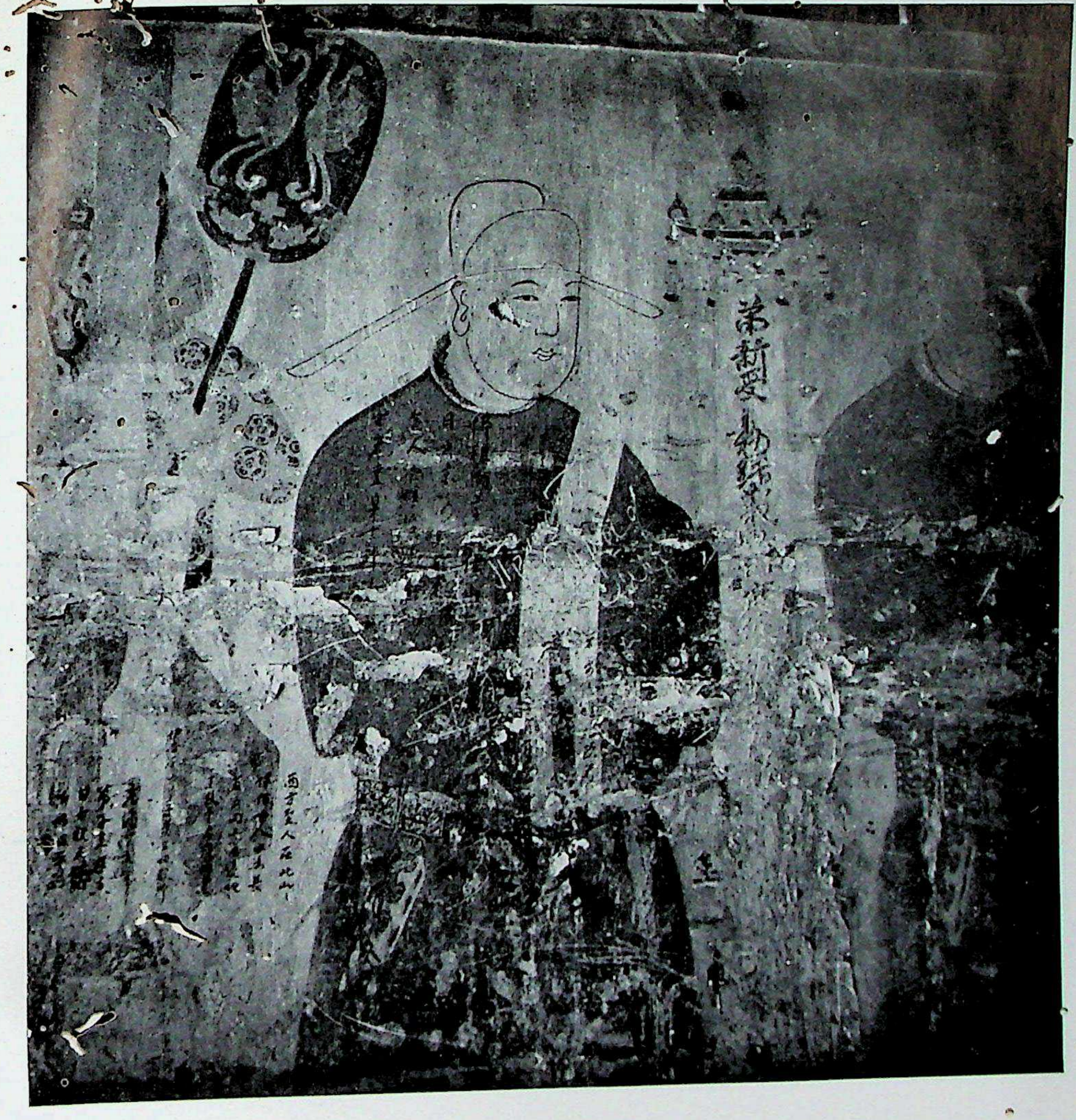
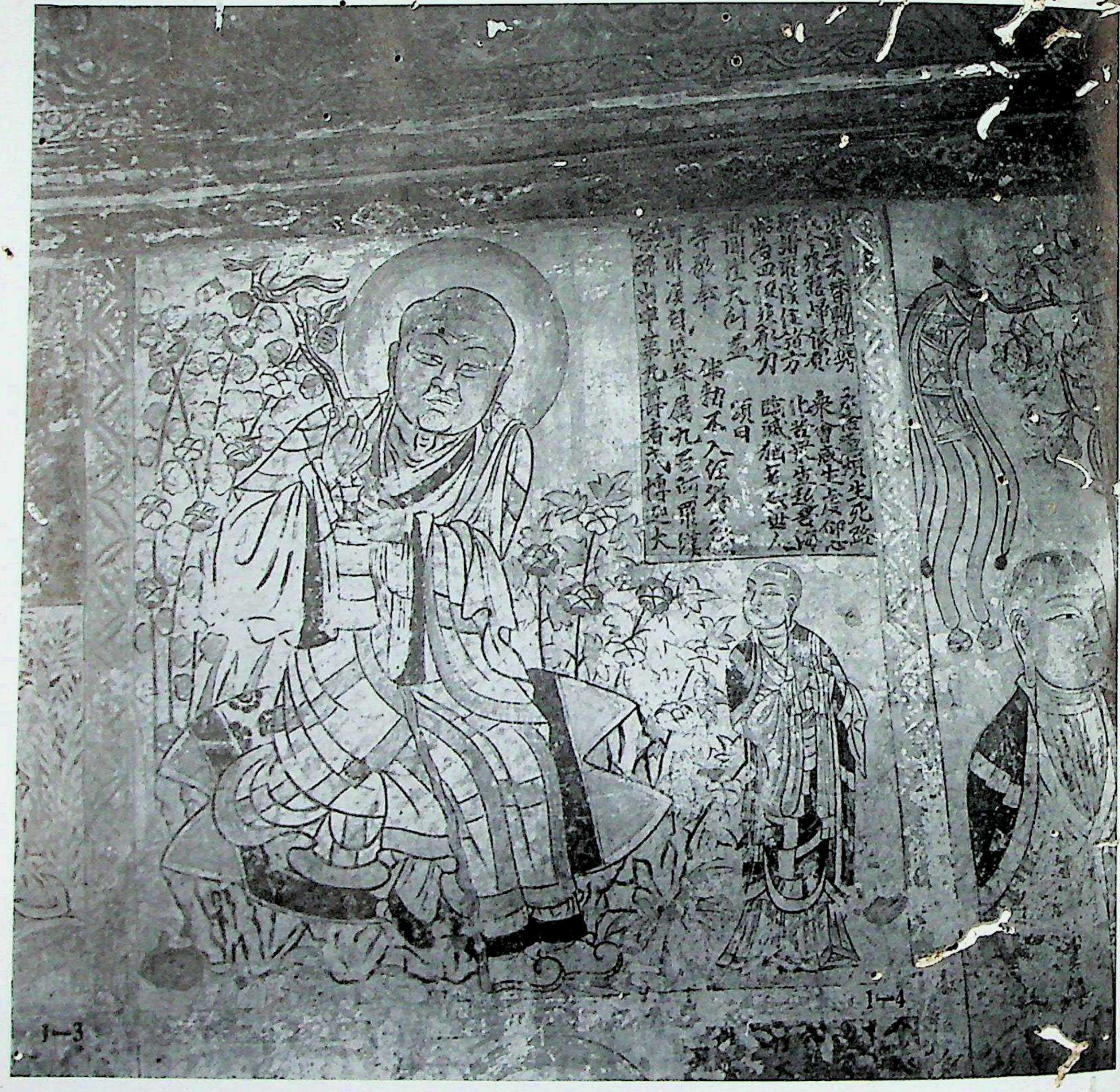


69. Portrait of the donor, Ts'ao Yen-lu
End of tenth century. Cave 454; P.119



70. An Arhat
A.D. 907–60. Cave 97
Tun-huang Institute photograph

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